# The musical patronage of the English aristocracy, c.1590 - 1640.

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# THE MUSICAL PATRONAGE OF THE ENGLISH ARISTOCRACY, C.1590-1640

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ABSRACT

This dissertation examines the musical patronage of twenty-seven noble families whose titular head occupied the rank of earl during the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods. Although cultural historians have investigated the patronage of literature, architecture and painting, music has hitherto been sidelined or assumed to mirror the patterns of the other arts. This thesis seeks to redress the balance, to analyse how music, politics and religion interacted during the period, and to isolate some of the distinctive features of aristocratic musical patronage.

Part I explores the mechanics of patronage through a comprehensive analysis of the patron-client relationship from the perspective of the musician. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 examine respectively the employment of apprentices, adult household musicians in full-time and part-time service, and waits and other itinerant musicians. The topics covered include the education of apprentices, the status of household musicians, their contracts of service, financial remuneration and other perquisites, and the protection and promotion given to resident servants and nominal retainers. Chapter 5 surveys the musical and instrumental resources provided by the master for the use of his musicians.

Part II analyses aristocratic musical taste as evidenced through musical patronage. Chapter 6 examines the foundation of this taste in the musical education of the nobleman and his family at home, in the universities and abroad. In addition, it traces the attempts to establish in England a continental-style academy training for the nobility and gentry. Chapter 7 examines the public motives which shaped the development of secular musical taste, namely power, advancement and influence. Several issues are discussed in relation to their musical implications including the ceremony of state attaching to the nobility, the concept of hospitality, the earl's association with the crown and his relationship with the local community. The chapter includes a detailed study of the duties of heraldic and recreational musicians, the assimilation of foreign musical culture, the dissemination of musical developments associated with the court, and the use of native traditions to reinforce the earl's hegemony at a county level and to criticise continental fashions. The final chapter examines the

patronage of sacred music in the context of the major religious developments of the period including the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity and the rise of Laudianism during the 1620s.

## PREFACE

A study which spans a number of historical disciplines necessarily gives rise to debts of gratitude to many scholars. I would like to thank the following musicologists and historians who have commented on drafts of this thesis or who have patiently answered my endless queries, no matter how trivial: Dr John Adamson, Dr Ian Archer, Dr Andrew Ashbee, Dr Caroline Barron, Dr Tim Carter, Tim Crawford, Dr Andrew Foster, Dr Penny Gouk, Dr Diana Greenway, Peter Holman, Professor Linda Levy Peck, Dr Julia Merritt, Dr Anthony Milton, Dr Ian Payne, Robert Spencer and Dr Peter Walls. Thanks are also due to Dr Pauline Croft and Peter Holman for allowing me to read typescripts of their work prior to publication, and to Michael Fleming and Michael Lowe for imparting to me their knowledge of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English and continental instrument makers.

I am grateful to the Central Research Fund Committee, University of London and to the Worshipful Company of Musicians who funded part of the travelling expenses incurred in my research.

I am also grateful to His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, the Marquesses of Bath and Salisbury and Viscount de L'Isle for allowing me to consult their family papers. I would also like to acknowledge the untiring assistance which the archivists Peter Day, Michael Pearman and Robin Harcourt Williams have given me during my researches at Chatsworth and Hatfield House.

I am particularly indebted to the members of the Tudor-Stuart seminar at the Institute of Historical Research, London whose enthusiasm and learning over the past ten years invigorated me for the task whenever my spirits flagged. In the same vein I must thank my supervisor, Professor Curtis Price, for his support and advice throughout its lengthy gestation period. Above all, a project such as this demands unstinting support and encouragement -- intellectual, financial and childminding -- from family and non-academic friends. I am especially grateful to them because this thesis would certainly never have been finished without their help.

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## CONTENTS

CONTENTS contd./

CONTENTS contd./

## LIST OF TABLES

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| BIOS Journal | Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies |
| CSPD | Calendar of State Papers Domestic |
| CSP Ireland | Calendar of State Papers Ireland |
| CUL | Cambridge University Library |
| DNB | Dictionary of National Biography |
| EETS | Early English Text Society |
| EM | Early Music |
| HL | Huntington Library, California |
| HMC | Historical Manuscripts Commission |
| Hunt. Lib. Q. | Huntington Library Quarterly |
| JBS | Journal of British Studies |
| KAO | Kent Archives Office |
| Lambeth PL | Lambeth Palace Library |
| Lbl | British Library |
| LSJ | Lute Society Journal |
| M&L | Music and Letters |
| MQ | Musical Quarterly |
| MT | Musical Times |
| NHB | Northumberland Household Book |
| NRO | Northamptonshire Record Office |
| NUL | Nottingham University Library |
| Ob | Bodleian Library, Oxford |
| PRO | Public Record Office |
| RMA | Royal Musical Association |
| RECM | Records of English Court Music |
| REED | Records of Early English Drama |
| RISM | Répertoire International des Sources Musicales |
| The New Grove | Sadie, S. (ed.), The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (1980) |
| Trans. of the RHS | Transactions of the Royal Historical Society |
| WPL | Westminster Public Library |
| YAS | Yorkshire Archaeological Society |

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

Few images speak to us so eloquently of the ideals of an age as the engraving of William Cavendish, Earl of Newcastle, performing a 'groupades furles voltes' in front of his castle at Bolsover (see Plate 1). Just as the warrior lord has tamed his latter-day Pegasus to the subtleties of dressage, so the traditional little castle, decorated with the symbols of Newcastle's loves, stands beside the new and bold classicism of the terrace wing and the riding school. Past and present are united in a conscious display of status and sophistication, a prodigy house designed for the entertainment of the crown and used as an emblem of power and local hegemony.

For Newcastle, these emblems were not scholastic exercises in a remote language but vital expressions of the message he wished to convey. All the arts were handmaids in the service of social, political and religious ends, music having its role just as much as painting or architecture. Such an integrated world picture, such a convergence of purposes achieved through artistic activity gave a status and vitality to cultural patronage which has rarely again been achieved in English society. In the field of music, it gave a richness and depth to noble patronage which contributed crucially to the flowering of English musical composition in the fifty years before the Civil War.

The subject of this thesis is the scale, mechanics and rationale of musical patronage in England as evidenced in the surviving records of fifty-one earls and their families, the most important lay patrons after the crown, during the period c. 1590-1640. From this I propose to show that Newcastle was representative of his age and not an extraordinary eccentric in his use of music as a prop to his social and political ambitions.

### I. RECENT STUDIES

In recent years the study of patronage has been a major area of historical enquiry among scholars working in the fields of culture, politics and religion. Cultural historians of the early modern period

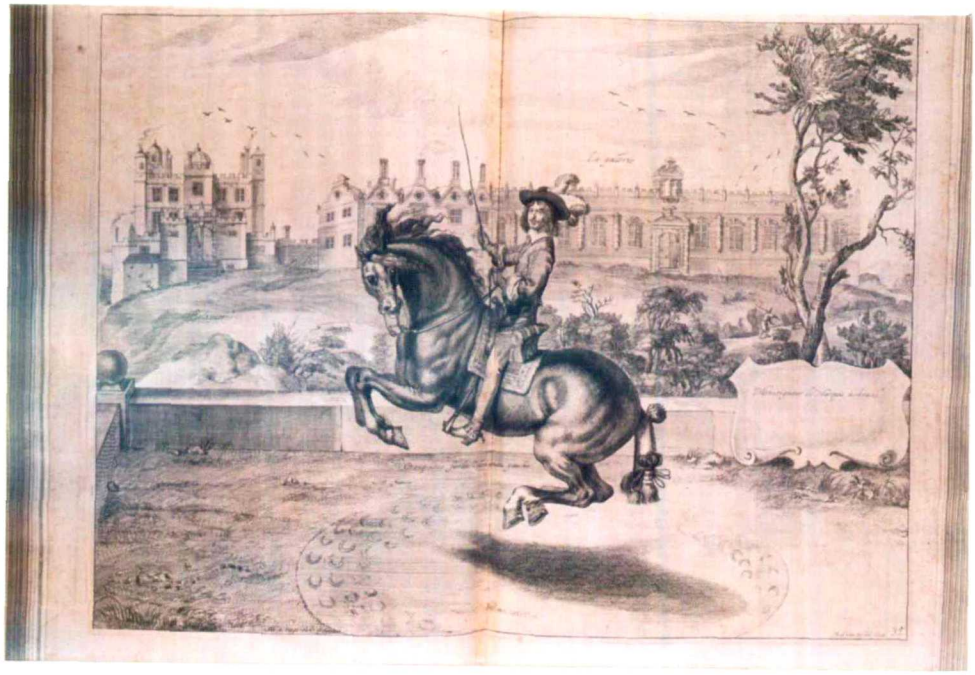

Plate 1. William Cavendish, Earl of Newcastle on horseback from La Méthode Nouvelle et Invention Extraordinaire de dresser les Chevaux (Antwerp, 1658/London, 1743)

have investigated in detail the patronage of literature, fine arts and architecture, but the sister art of music, possibly because of its non-referential language, has rarely been subject to close scrutiny in this way. To date the most successful general study of the arts to include music is the collection of essays on 'Renaissance and Reformation' edited by Boris Ford in the series The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain (Cambridge, 1989). In contrast, John Buxton gives only a flavour of the range and depth of aristocratic musical patronage in Elizabethan Taste (New Jersey, 1963), while Malcolm Smuts's Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England (Philadelphia, 1987) gives short shrift to music. Similarly, many secondary works on late Elizabethan and early Stuart English music fail to place their subject properly in its social and artistic context. Walter Woodfill's pioneering work, Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I (Princeton, 1953), while outdated, remains the most comprehensive study in the field of musical patronage. It is also more reliable than David Price's quasi-biographical Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance (Cambridge, 1981). Glen Philipps's doctoral thesis, 'The Patronage of Music in Late Renaissance England 1588-1641' (Brown University, 1974) contains some interesting ideas on the subject but his work is hampered by its total reliance on printed sources in a field where some of the richest material is to be found in manuscript collections. Musical patronage is therefore ripe for investigation using original source documents and placing the evidence contained there in the context of the other arts.

## II. SOCIAL GROUP

This study was originally intended to cover the top three ranks of the English titular peerage, that is earls, marquesses and dukes on the grounds that this is a homogeneous group about which meaningful generalisations could be made.[1] It soon became apparent that even this

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1. The titular peerage (barons, viscounts, earls, marquesses and dukes), county elite (knights and baronets) and gentlemen (professional men, the higher clergy, university dons and small landed proprietors) accounted for approximately the top 2% of the English population (L. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641 (Oxford, 1965), 51).

limited coverage was beyond the scope of a doctoral thesis and instead a sample of twenty-seven families was selected from the population of sixty-seven whose titular head occupied the rank of earl for any part of the period 1590-1640 (see Appendix I).[2] This sample was dictated by the relatively easy and plentiful availability of archival and other evidence regarding the families' musical patronage and therefore it would be inappropriate to assume that they are statistically representative of the population from which they are taken. However, the size of the sample is sufficient to provide a wide cross-section of earls, including old and new creations, families from differing geographical, economic and religious backgrounds, and peers both active and passive in government and royal service. The patterns of musical patronage observed in the sample are therefore likely to be representative of the population of earls as a whole.

**1. Old and new creations**

Of the twenty-seven families examined, sixteen acquired a peerage before 1603, that is under a third of the total number of peers during the late Tudor period.[3] Eleven of these could trace their earldom back to at least the first half of the sixteenth century (Bath, Cumberland, Derby, Hertford, Huntingdon, Oxford, Pembroke, Rutland, Shrewsbury, Southampton and Worcester), the earliest being that of the de Veres who were created earls of Oxford in 1142, while three others were granted baronies, the lowest rank of the titular peerage, during Elizabeth's reign, Thomas Sackville (Baron Buckhurst), Edmund Sheffield (Baron

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2. The patrons listed in Appendix I are ordered by peerage title. Each entry comprises details of the titles granted to a particular individual, including knighthood, Knight of the Garter (KG), Knight of the Bath (KB), and peerages. Throughout the dissertation patrons are referred to by the title which they held at the point in their career at which their musical patronage is being discussed. For example, the Earl of Devonshire is referred to as Sir William Cavendish prior to May 1605, William Baron Cavendish between May 1605 and August 1618, and Earl of Devonshire thereafter. Select genealogies of the families most regularly mentioned in this study are included as Appendix II.

3. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 97

Sheffield), and Thomas Howard (Baron Howard of Walden).[4]

In contrast to Elizabeth who consciously restricted the number of new creations, James I granted titles freely. The upper ranks of English society, keen for recognition of their status, pressed the king for ennoblement. Before 1603 the proportion of first- and second-generation peerage creations stood at 18%. By 1628 this had increased dramatically to 57%.[5] Within two years of the Stuart succession six of the patrons listed in Appendix I were granted earldoms of whom three held major offices of state or a post within the royal household. Robert Cecil, the secretary of state, was created Baron Cecil of Essendon (1603), Viscount Cranborne (1604) and Earl of Salisbury (1605). Thomas Howard, lord chamberlain to the king's household, and Thomas Sackville, the lord treasurer, both of whom had received a barony under Elizabeth, were raised to the earldoms of Suffolk (1603) and Dorset (1604) respectively. Henry Howard, uncle to the Earl of Suffolk and younger brother of the 4th Duke of Norfolk who had been executed under Elizabeth, was granted the earldom of Northampton (1604) while the 3rd Earl of Pembroke's younger brother, Philip Herbert, and Thomas Cecil, Baron Burghley and stepbrother to the secretary of state, were created earls of Montgomery and Exeter respectively in May 1605. Two other families were ennobled during this brief period. The king conferred a patent for a peerage on his cousin Lady Arbella Stuart in 1605 to which she nominated her uncle Sir William Cavendish who was granted the barony of Cavendish of Hardwick. Robert Sidney, lord chamberlain to Anne of Denmark, was created Baron Sidney of Penshurst (1603) and Viscount Lisle (1605).

Nine of the patrons listed in Appendix I (Bridgewater, Devonshire, Leicester, Clare, Middlesex, Westmorland, Mulgrave, Rivers and Newcastle) received their earldoms during the ascendancy of the royal favourite, George Villiers. Villiers himself had been promoted from a knight in 1615 to Duke of Buckingham, the highest rank in the titular peerage, in 1623. Between Villiers's rise to power and his

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4. Details of peerage titles are taken from G.E. Cokayne, The Complete Peerage, 12 vols (1910-59). Thomas Darcy succeeded to the barony of Darcy of Chiche (1551) in March 1581 while Thomas Cecil, the future Earl of Exeter, inherited a barony from his father, William Lord Burghley, who was raised to the peerage under Elizabeth.

5. Stone, op. cit., 121

assassination in 1628 the size of the aristocracy increased by 50% while the number of earls more than doubled. Many of the creations were directly connected with the royal favourite. For instance, titles were granted to clients or relatives of the duke including Lionel Cranfield who was created Earl of Middlesex in 1622 following his marriage to Buckingham's cousin, Anne Brett. Peerages were also sold to raise revenue. The sale of titles was not new -- Cavendish had paid nearly £2,900 for his barony in 1605 -- but the scale and corruption of the rank during Buckingham's ascendancy was unprecedented.[6] For example, Cavendish paid £8,000 for the privilege of being made Earl of Devonshire in 1618 while the Nottinghamshire gentleman, John Holles, who had been raised to the barony of Houghton in 1616, paid £5,000 directly to the duke eight years later for the earldom of Clare. The sale of titles stopped within months of Buckingham's assassination when Charles realised the damage being done in this way. By 1628 all the patrons listed in Appendix I had joined the upper ranks of the English aristocracy.

To what extent should earls be regarded as a distinct and homogeneous group set apart from their fellow nobles by wealth, political influence and social prestige? Many historians have concluded that the nobility adopted a distinctive style of life; they were broadly united by ideology, attitude and social aspirations.[7] Wealth was important, but status depended more on lineage and landed estates. To join the ruling elite and to be accepted within this social group new families had to demonstrate their lineage even to the extent of forging their genealogy, they had to be financially independent and they had to acquire land, the dominant measure of rank and social status. Thus, the parvenu had to ratify his status and differentiate himself from the lower orders of English society and, in some cases, his relatively humble origins, by adopting the life style and the system of values practised by the older nobility, a system in which music played an important role. Conspicuous patronage of the arts served to demonstrate his affinity with the ruling elite and ultimately the crown, to make public the sophistication of his

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6. The subject is discussed in L.L. Peck, Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England (1990)

7. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 61

personal taste and the excellence of his household and to reinforce his hegemony on both a local and national level.[8] It is therefore erroneous to suggest, as Lillian Ruff and Arnold Wilson have done, that the monetary-based, streamlined households of the new elite were less likely to patronise the arts than those of the older nobility such as the Shrewsburys and Rutlands.[9] Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, ironically one of the peers whom they cite in support of this view, is a prime example of a parvenu who 'royally entertaine[d] the Exercise of Musicke'.[10]

## 2. Geographical, religious and economic variation

In order to identify any regional variations which may have existed in the nature of aristocratic musical patronage the families listed in Appendix I have been selected from throughout England.[11] For example, the north of the country is represented by the earls of Cumberland (Yorkshire), Huntingdon (Leicestershire) and Derby (Lancashire and Cheshire); the Midlands by the earls of Shrewsbury (Nottinghamshire), Newcastle (Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire), Devonshire (Derbyshire) and Rutland (Rutland); East Anglia by Earl Rivers (Essex and Suffolk) and the Earl of Suffolk (Essex); the south of England by the earls of Salisbury (Hertfordshire), Dorset (Kent), Middlesex (Middlesex) and Bridgewater (Hertfordshire); and the west country and Welsh borders by the earls of Pembroke (Wiltshire and Herefordshire), Hertford (Wiltshire), Bath (Devon) and Worcester (Monmouthshire). Furthermore, in view of the recent historical debate on the possibility of a cultural polarity between court and country, the sample includes peers

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8. N. Elias, Court Society, trans. E. Jephcott (Oxford, 1983), 90-91, 100

9. L.M. Ruff and D.A. Wilson, 'The madrigal, the lute song and English politics', Past and Present, 44 (1969), 3-51, see esp. pp. 14-15

10. J. Dowland, Andreas Ornithoparcus his Micrologus (1609); see also L. Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage of Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury (1563-1612), Journal of the Royal Musical Association (RMA), 116/1 (1991), 24-40

11. The estates of the nobility were numerous and widely scattered; however, the geographical origins of a particular family has been decided on the basis of the location of its principal county seat.

who spent several months of the year in London, where by frequenting the court and its environs they were at once exposed to the capital's latest musical developments, and those who resided for the most part on their county estates. Chapter 7 examines, inter alia, whether or not a court-country split existed in secular musical taste.

Besides geographical variation the patrons listed in Appendix I represent a reasonable cross-section of earls in terms of wealth and religious ideology. Although it is often difficult to estimate an individual's wealth at this time, it is still worthwhile considering if the quality and quantity of musical patronage were related to the ability to pay. This issue is discussed in particular with regard to the remuneration which patrons offered their musicians (Chapter 3), the scale and quality of the musical and instrumental resources which they provided (Chapter 5), and the amount of money spent on the staging of private entertainments and other forms of conspicuous consumption involving music (Chapter 7).

In so far as it is possible to establish an individual's doctrinal position, the noblemen listed in Appendix I are representative of the spectrum of religious opinion which existed in post-Reformation England. They range from puritans and Calvinists such as the 3rd Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Bridgewater and James Lord Strange, through conservative Anglicans like the Earl of Newcastle, to Catholic sympathisers and self-confessed papists including the Earls of Worcester and Northampton. The relationship between doctrinal and aesthetic sensibilities is discussed in Chapter 8 on devotional music in noble households.

### 3. Office-holding

At a time when several musical innovations were associated with the court and its environs it is necessary to consider the influence of office-holding on the cultural activities of the nobility. Many of the patrons listed in Appendix I held government or court appointments including major offices of state such as lord treasurer (Dorset, Salisbury and Middlesex) and secretary of state (Salisbury), and posts within the royal household including lord chamberlain (Suffolk, Leicester and Pembroke) and master of the horse (the 4th Earl of Worcester and the Duke of Buckingham). The sample also includes leading figures in local government who, by virtue of their office, acted as

the monarch's representative in the shires and used their knowledge of the arts to demonstrate their affinity with the crown. Such figures include the lord president of the Council in the North (Mulgrave) and the Council in the Marches (Bridgewater), and the lord lieutenants of the counties.

## III. DATES

This study covers the period from c. 1590-1640. Fifty years is long enough to establish the continuities and changes in aristocratic musical patronage and to place them in the context of contemporary social, political, religious and other cultural developments.

The reasons for commencing the study in the final years of Elizabeth's reign are threefold. First, it places the musical developments of the first half of the seventeenth century in context, in particular, the court's influence on secular and devotional musical taste after the accession of the Stuart monarchy. Secondly, by 1590 protestantism was well-established in England after the widespread upheavals of the Reformation which inevitably affected the scale and nature of religious music in noble households. Thirdly, the pattern of the London season was well established.[12] The ruling elite spent several months of the year in the capital during which time they were exposed to and fostered the latest cultural developments.

The early Stuart period is a particularly fruitful one for the study of aristocratic musical patronage. After 1603 the development of musical culture was centred on Whitehall and its environs. This was brought about by the change in structure of the court following the Stuart succession in that five royal establishments replaced the single household of the virgin queen. Furthermore, the peace with mainland Europe following several years of war led to the growing cosmopolitanism of the early Stuart court. Several important musical innovations which are discussed in Chapter 7 date from this time, including the emulation of certain foreign musical trends, the development of the masque and several new instrumental genres. The thesis traces the

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12. F.J. Fisher, 'The development of London as a centre of conspicuous consumption in the 16th and 17th centuries', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (Trans. of the RHS), 4th series 30 (1948), 37-50

dissemination of these musical genres among the ruling elite.

The fifty-year span terminates with the personal rule of Charles I when for eleven years up to 1640 he ruled without the assistance of the houses of parliament, a period during which scholars have identified the growing remoteness of the early Stuart monarchy. The polarity between court and country has been hotly debated in recent years. This study traces the dissemination of court culture during this critical period and the ways in which music was used to criticise the Caroline court.

Although no single date can be made to stand for all the changes that occurred in the 1640s, to all intents and purposes the outbreak of Civil War represents the cut-off point for this study. In pockets of least resistance the mechanics of musical patronage continued much as they had done before, but the hostilities of the English revolution influenced markedly the nature of aristocratic musical patronage. For example, sources for the period 1642 to 1660 suggest that musical innovations associated with the court were dispersed across the country after the disbandment of the royal household, possibly because of the number of court-based musicians seeking private employment. The estates of some royalist peers were sequestered and their retinues perforce much reduced. Several noblemen fled into exile on the continent, one of the most notable examples being the Earl of Newcastle, commander of the northern forces.

## IV. METHODOLOGY

This thesis explores for the first time the mechanics of aristocratic musical patronage through a comprehensive analysis of the patron-client relationship. Historians in other disciplines have demonstrated that this relationship was well established by the end of the Tudor period. The hierarchical structure of late Elizabethan and early Stuart society reflected the philosophical view of the universe ordered into a chain of being. At every level man operated both as patron and client, dispensing patronage and seeking favour. At one end of the spectrum was the simple two-way relationship between master and musician in which the latter was employed as an apprentice or adult servant on a full-time, regular part-time or an occasional basis. In the case of household musicians this relationship was based on a

contract of service whereby the master agreed to provide training, financial remuneration and other perquisites, protection and promotion as well as musical and instrumental resources. In return the musician agreed to provide his skill as performer, tutor and occasionally composer. This dyadic relationship is discussed in Part I of the thesis. At the other end of the spectrum are the complex networks and factions of noblemen and gentlemen who used music and musicians as part of the currency of obligations which operated on both a local and national level. This manifestation of patronage is illustrated in a number of chapters and discussed at length in Chapter 7.

As Linda Levy Peck has shown, patronage can be analysed as involving two forms of exchange, the specific and the general.[13] The relationship between master and servant was specific in that the contract bound the musician to serve the patron and to show deference for which he received material benefit. But the relationship was also general; in return for diligent service the patron protected and furthered the interests of his musician. Furthermore, by employing musicians the patron had at his disposal a mechanism by which he could influence others through the demonstration of his status, wealth and affinity with the crown as well as his musical skill, knowledge of fashion and cosmopolitan taste.

The evidence for this study comes from a wide range of sources but is founded on a detailed examination of primary material, both archival and musical, pertaining to the earls listed in Appendix I. Archival sources include household and estate records, that is, receipts and disbursements drawn up by the steward (wages and annuities to household servants, expenses for music and instruments and rewards to itinerant musicians), caterparcels (containing information about guests and the movement of the household), and bills; household ordinances setting down the day-to-day running of the household; chequerrolls of servants in full-time employment; inventories; personal records including correspondence, commonplace books, advices to sons, travel diaries and library catalogues; testamentary records such as wills and probate inventories as well as funeral sermons; educational documents

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13. L.L. Peck, '"For a King not to be bountiful were a fault": Perspectives on Court Patronage in Early Stuart England', Journal of British Studies (JBS), 25/1 (1986), 31-61

including records of school and university attendance and tutors' accounts; parish records of births, marriages and deaths; records of court and ecclesiastical institutions pertaining to musicians employed on a part-time basis in noble households; and local records including civic documents relating to waits and nominal retainers attached to the nobility. Musical sources include manuscripts and prints acquired by or associated with the patrons listed in Appendix I, dedications and literary texts set to music in the form of masques and dramatic entertainments.

The rate of survival of primary evidence varies considerably from one family to another. Of the papers examined the Cumberland archives are unusual in containing an almost complete set of accounts for the period 1594 to 1644 with sufficiently detailed entries to identify the skills and repertory of the earl's household band as well as to draw conclusions about the patronage of waits and other itinerant musicians, the subject of which forms the basis of Chapter 4. It has also been possible to compile an inventory of the music books owned by the Earl of Devonshire during the late Elizabethan and Jacobean periods with a level of detail rarely matched by other contemporary households. The contents of this collection are discussed in Chapters 5 and 7. In contrast, most of the Dorset archives were destroyed during the great fire of London in 1666 which engulfed Dorset House. The surviving accounts for 1607-08 and the 1st Earl's will only hint at the extent of the family's musical patronage. Nevertheless, his bequests to household musicians contain vital information on their contracts of service, information which can now be corroborated by snippets scattered widely throughout other archival collections. The Rutland archives also offer a tantalising glimpse of aristocratic musical patronage. Unfortunately this collection remains inaccessible to scholars who have therefore to rely on the report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, HMC Rutland, volumes I and IV, which inadequately reflects the richness of this collection.

Inevitably, a study such as this cannot be comprehensive, both because of the limitations of evidence and access already referred to but also because of the volume of data which exists and which continues to grow as new sources come to light. However, the evidence is sufficiently detailed and wide ranging in order to provide a basis for conclusions about the nature of aristocratic patronage.

The methodology adopted in this thesis is historiographical and does not involve direct analysis of the music composed during the period. The compositions are of course important evidence of the patronage and are referred to for that purpose but this means that some areas of music are not discussed while others are addressed only incidently. However, in my view a proper understanding of aristocratic patronage helps us to a better appreciation of the music.

# PART I

# THE MECHANICS OF PATRONAGE

## CHAPTER TWO

## THE APPRENTICESHIP OF HOUSEHOLD MUSICIANS

Boy musicians were attached to noble households from at least the end of the fifteenth century. Prior to the Henrician Reformation they served in the chapels of leading peers such as the 5th Earl of Northumberland who maintained six resident choristers between c. 1509-1525.[1] Thereafter, the number of boy musicians employed within individual households declined, primarily because of the disbandment of private chapel choirs under the growing influence of protestantism. By the end of the sixteenth century it was unusual for a nobleman to patronise more than two boys or adolescents at any given time.[2] Furthermore, boy musicians trained in late Elizabethan and early Stuart households were subject to the law of apprenticeship.[3]

### I. THE LAW OF APPRENTICESHIP

The apprenticeship system was developed by trade guilds during the Medieval period in order to regulate the training of youths and to protect their members from the competition of cheap labour. Initially it was a voluntary arrangement in which the pupil's guardian and the prospective master agreed on the conditions of service, the terms of which were set down in a legal document binding pupil to master. The apprenticeship indenture recorded the names of the contracting parties, the length of service, the conditions relating to the instruction and

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1. R. Bowers, 'The Vocal Scoring, Choral Balance and Performing Pitch of Latin Church Polyphony in England, c. 1500-58', Journal of the RMA, 112/1 (1986-87), 38-76, see esp. p. 58

2. This figure compares with the number of boys employed in the musical establishments of Henry and Charles following their creation as prince of Wales, and in the London company of waits and the society of minstrels (A. Ashbee (ed.), Records of English Court Music (RECM), 6 vols (1986-1992), IV, 210, 220; H.A.F. Crewdson, The Worshipful Company of Musicians (1971), 35, 127).

3. For example, a scrivener was paid for drawing up indentures between the 4th Earl of Cumberland and two of his boys, Edward Cressett and John Hingeston (Chatsworth, Bolton MSS book 95 f. 240v and book 99 f. 191v). Neither contract has survived.

maintenance of the apprentice, and the pupil's conduct towards his master.[4]

The social and economic problems of mid-sixteenth century England forced the government to consider means by which apprentices might be regulated under a national scheme. At least three bills were passed or proposed during the 1550s.[5] In 1563 An Acte towching dyvers Orders for Artificers Laborers Servantes of Husbandrye and Apprentises was entered in the statute books whereby apprenticeship was made compulsory for all who wished to enter a craft or trade including the science of music.[6]

The length of indenture of boy musicians probably conformed to the law, though it is difficult to generalise on the basis of limited evidence. Following the precedent set by the Medieval guilds, the 1563 Acte insisted upon a minimum term of seven years in order to restrict the number of craftsmen and to minimise the costs and efforts involved in training new apprentices. Moreover, prolonging the length of indenture allowed the master to benefit from the skills acquired by his pupil during the early years of his apprenticeship.[7]

Only a handful of contracts survive relating to the indenture of household musicians. Robert Johnson and Richard Farnaby were each bound to their patron for the statutory term of seven years, but Daniel Bacheler who entered the employment of Sir Francis Walsingham in 1586, was initially apprenticed to his uncle, Thomas Cardell, lutenist and dancing master to Elizabeth I, for a period of sixteen years.[8] Of the nineteen boys listed below only Edward Cressett is known to have served

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4. O.J. Dunlop, English Apprenticeship and Child Labour: A History (1912), 29-31, 53

5. Journal of the House of Commons, 1547 to 1628-29, 21 January 1549/50, 'The Act for Apprentices' (p. 15); 11 April 1552, 'Bill touching Journeymen and Prentices' (p. 22); and 18 April 1559, 'Bill for taking and having of Apprentices and Journeymen' (p. 60)

6. Statutes of the Realm, 1547-1624 (1819), 5 Eliz. c. 4

7. A.H. Thomas (ed.), Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls...of the City of London 1364-1381 (Cambridge, 1929), xxxiii; S. Rappaport, Worlds within worlds: structures of life in sixteenth-century London (Cambridge, 1989), 294, 313-17

8. Gloucestershire Record Office, Berkeley MSS Select charter 822; A.E.B. Owen, 'Giles and Richard Farnaby in Lincolnshire', Music and Letters (M&L), 42/2 (1961), 151-54, see esp. p. 151; Public Record Office (PRO) E40/12979

**Table 2.1 Boy musicians in private service**

| Patron | Apprentice | Dates of service<br>< = before; > = after |
|---|---|---|
| Earl of Salisbury | Sir Richard Champernown's boy | ? > Aug. 1595 |
| | Daniel | > Feb. 1596 |
| | Lord Burgh's three boys | ? > Feb. 1596 |
| | Henry Phillips | < Dec. 1598 |
| | Nicholas Lanier | < July 1605-Oct. 1607 |
| | Antony Holborne's son | offered in 1606 |
| | George Mason | < Feb. 1607-Aug. 1608 |
| | Christian Crusse | < Jan. 1608-Dec. 1610 |
| | Simon Ives | < Oct. 1608-> Oct. 1609 |
| Earl of Hertford | Hamon | 1571 |
| | William Lawes | > 1612 |
| Sir William Cavendish[9] | singing boy | < 1613 |
| 3rd Earl of Bath[10] | William Molins | < Oct. 1622 |
| 4th Earl of Cumberland[11] | George Mason | < Dec. 1608-June 1610 |
| | John Earsden | < Apr. 1610-Dec. 1613 |
| | Edward Cressett | May 1614-June 1621 |
| | John Hingeston | < Aug. 1621-> Feb. 1625 |

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9. Thomas Cutting probably served part of his apprenticeship under the patronage of Cavendish's cousin, Lady Arbella Stuart. In a letter to Christian IV of Denmark, Lady Arbella stated that 'this man hath been sent to the best masters, and trained in this art to my pleasure, and came to me with no slight recommendation for the excellence as well of his character as of his art ' (J.M. Ward, 'A Dowland Miscellany', Journal of the Lute Society of America, 10 (1977), 151 and L. Hulse, 'Francis and Thomas Cutting: father and son?', The Lute, 26/2 (1986), 73-74). Contrary to Price's opinion, there is no evidence to confirm that young Henry Cavendish, the illegitimate heir to Baron Cavendish's brother, Henry, was a musical apprentice, though another musician named Ham may have been indentured to the nobleman in 1606 (Price, Patrons and Musicians, 115; D.N. Durant, Bess of Hardwick: Portrait of an Elizabethan Dynast (rev. ed., 1988), 218; Chatsworth Hardwick MSS 10B and 23).

10. John Amner noted in his publication Sacred Hymnes (1615) that the 3rd Earl of Bath 'held me up and bred me to that little learning and living which I now enjoy.' Following his initial training at Ely Cathedral in the early 1590s Amner studied music at Oxford under the earl's patronage (I. Payne, 'British Library Add. MSS 30826 28: a set of part books from Trinity College, Cambridge?', Chelys, 17 (1988), 3-15, see esp. pp. 3-4 and note 12).

11. The string player Charles Pendrie may also have served an apprenticeship in the Clifford household. Pendrie first appears in a chequerroll of servants dated August 1607, three years prior to receiving a quarterly wage (Bolton MSS book 73 and book 231 f. 44).

out the minimum term. He received his first quarterly salary in June 1621, exactly seven years after joining Cumberland's household.[12]

## II. ACQUISITION

Like other child servants, boy musicians employed in early Tudor households were drawn from a wide cross-section of society including 'henchmen' or the sons of gentry families who had been placed in aristocratic service for the benefit of their education, and boys of humble background, many of whom were destined for a professional career in music.[13] So far as it is possible to ascertain, the social origins of musical apprentices underwent little change in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The 1641/2 chequerroll of the Clifford household, for instance, referred specifically to the gentleman status of its former page, the lutenist John Earsden, a mark of respect which was not accorded to the other members of the earl's band.[14] Two of the boys listed in Table 2.1 were related to household servants already in their master's employment. The 3rd Earl of Bath's singing boy was almost certainly a kinsman of the butler William Molins.[15] Salisbury's musician, Nicholas Lanier, was the son of the royal wind player, John Lanier, who also served the earl on a part-time basis. In a letter addressed to his noble patron, John Lanier claimed that he had never intended Nicholas to '[fall] fowle of musicke' if it had not been for Salisbury's desire to employ him.[16]

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12. Bolton MSS book 99 f. 95v

13. K. Mertes, The English Noble Household 1250-1600 (Oxford, 1988), 30-31, 144-46; N. Orme, From Childhood to Chivalry. The education of the English kings and aristocracy 1066 to 1530 (1984), 51-52

14. Bolton MSS book 91

15. PRO PROB 11/142/93

16. Hatfield, Salisbury MSS vol. 111/100. George Mason, another of Salisbury' s boy musicians, may have been the son of the earl's East Greenwich tenant, George Mason. Mason the elder is also described in the burial register of St Clement Danes as 'gent from the White Hart [Inn]' situated in the Strand, not far from Salisbury's London property (Westminster Public Library (WPL), St Clement Danes parish register vol. 1 (1558-1639) f. 237v; D. Foster, 'Inns, Taverns, Alehouses,

Throughout the Tudor and early Stuart periods noblemen acquired boy musicians from choral foundations. John Hingeston, son of a vicar choral at York Minster, sang in the cathedral choir for at least two years before entering private service.[17] His patron, the 4th Earl of Cumberland, was a benefactor of the Minster and its personnel, including the choristers and organist.[18] Hingeston was first employed in the Clifford household to entertain the Lord President of the Council in the North during a visit to Londesborough on 17 March 1619/20. Within one year he was appointed organist to the earl.[19]

An apprenticeship indenture could be transferred to another master at any point during its term. A boy's services constituted property of which the master had a right to dispose.[20] Shortly after George Mason's

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Coffee Houses, etc. in and around London', vol. 71 (unpub., WPL), 58). In his will drawn up in July 1608, Mason instructed the earl's steward to take charge of his children's education, including that of his third son, George (PRO PROB 11/114/119). Antony Holborne, gentleman usher and lutenist, who had served as courier to the secretary of state during the closing years of Elizabeth's reign, instructed his wife on his deathbed that 'att such time as [she] coulde gett this his onelie sonne freed from the service he was in [she] shoulde straighte present him to [the earl] as a free guifte' (Salisbury MSS vol. 119/10). The parish register of St Margaret's, Westminster does not record the birth of Holborne's son, though three of his daughters are listed (A.M. Burke (ed.), 'The Parish Registers 1539-1660', Memorials of St. Margaret's Church, Westminster (1914), 44, 57, 60). Elizabeth Holborne does not mention her son's profession; however, it seems likely that he was also a musician as she describes his quality as impaired by want of a father and the 'hearinge of some excellent men'.

17. L. Hulse, 'John Hingeston', Chelys, 12 (1983), 23-42, see esp. pp. 23-24; York Minster Library MS M13/1 (S). William Lawes was also the son of a vicar choral. According to the antiquarian, Thomas Fuller, the Earl of Hertford obtained the boy from his father, Thomas Lawes of Salisbury Cathedral (P.A. Nuttall (ed.), Thomas Fuller: The History of the Worthies of England, 3 vols (1840), III, 336). There is no evidence to suggest that the elder Lawes enjoyed Hertford's patronage directly, but the earl had ties with the cathedral and William may have been a chorister there prior to entering private service. Cressett may also have been trained in a choral foundation. In May 1614 Cumberland sent Charles Pendrie, one of his musicians, to Windsor 'to provyde my lo' a boy' (Bolton MSS book 95 f. 202v). He may have found Cressett among the choristers at St George's Chapel.

18. Bolton MSS book 98 f. 210v

19. Bolton MSS book 80 (unfoliated) and book 98 f. 142; Hulse, 'John Hingeston', 25

20. Thomas, Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls, xlii

voice had broken Salisbury initially offered the remaining two years of his contract to Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton before placing the boy with his kinsman, the 4th Earl of Cumberland.[21] Occasionally some years of an indenture were sold to another master. In 1565-66, for example, Sir Henry Sidney paid £13 6s 8d to redeem 'the apprentyshode of two boyes for the violens'.[22] The sum of £50 which Sir William Cavendish paid for a singing boy suggests that he also acquired the youth from another master part way through his indenture.[23]

Masters did not always seek financial compensation for the termination of an apprenticeship. A boy musician could also be used as a pawn in the complex network of obligations which existed between clients and patrons. Salisbury exploited his influential position to increase the size of his band. Two of the boys listed in Table 2.1 were sought by him in settlement of past favours, while three others were offered to Cecil in the hope of obliging him to their donor. In March 1595 Sir Richard Champernown was accused of gelding boys to preserve their voices and appealed to the secretary of state for help. Champernown's distress in the face of this accusation was compounded by Cecil's desire to obtain one of the apprentices in question. Despite his obligation, Champernown refused to part with the boy on the grounds that he had received 'smale or no contentment but yn musick' in return for the time and money spent on his education, and that the quality of his consort would be severely impaired by his loss. On further reflection, however, Champernown offered the boy's services on a temporary basis in order to retain Cecil's support.[24]

Thomas Lord Burgh was also indebted to the statesman so when in February 1596 Cecil asked for one of his apprentices, he released the boy. Burgh turned the occasion to his own advantage, writing, 'I wold make you as sensible of being beholding to me as I am feling of a great obligation to yow for kinde favors.' Burgh's offer of the boy's three

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21. Salisbury MSS bills 33. He received his first half yearly wage from Cumberland in November 1610 (Bolton MSS book 231 f. 7v).

22. Kent Archives Office (KAO) U1475/A5/4 [f. 4v]

23. Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, The Life of the Thrice Noble, High and Puissant Prince William Cavendish, ed. C.H. Firth (1907), 105

24. Salisbury MSS vols 31/48, 73/24, 35/100

companions and their instruments may have influenced Cecil's decision the following year to appoint him lord deputy of Ireland.[25]

If a master died before the completion of the apprenticeship, the boy either served out his time with the widow or heirs or his indenture was transferred to another master. A musical apprenticeship served in a private household might not be terminated by the master's death as the patron did not personally instruct his apprentice. Nevertheless, security of office was not guaranteed as the heir was under no obligation to retain the deceased's employees, particularly if he already maintained a household. It was therefore customary for provision to be made in the master's will to compensate servants forced to seek alternative employment. For example, the four apprentices whom Lord Burgh offered to Cecil in February 1595/6 had been bequeathed to him by a 'worthy compagnon'. As a mark of respect, Burgh delayed the transfer of their indenture in order that they might 'see ther mr in his resting couche'.[26]

## III. AGE OF MUSICAL APPRENTICES

According to paragraph XXIX of the 1563 Acte, 'no person shall by force or color of this Estatute bee bounden to enter into any Apprenticeshippe other than suche as bee under th'age of one and twentye yeres.' The Acte does not refer to a minimum age at which boys could be legally indentured. Members of craft and trade guilds were debarred from becoming freemen of a town or city before the age of twenty-four, thus implying that most youths entered an apprenticeship in their late teens, except where the training period in their chosen profession extended well beyond the statutory seven-year term.[27] In

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25. Salisbury MSS vol. 35/85. None of Burgh's apprentices can be identified. For an alternative view see W.H. Grattan Flood, 'New Light on Late Tudor Composers XXXII: John Daniel', Musical Times (MT), 69 (1928), 218-19.

26. Salisbury MSS vol. 30/85. Price is incorrect in suggesting that Burgh's companion was probably his wife (Patrons and Musicians, 173). Lady Burgh died in 1647 (Cokayne, The Complete Peerage, II, 424).

27. The average age in sixteenth-century London was eighteen and a half years, though according to the Caroline author, Michael Dalton, any person above the age of ten years 'may by Indenture be bound as an

this respect music differed from other professions. The demand for treble and mean voices and the necessity to train musicians from an early age forced masters to indenture children.

In the majority of cases it is impossible to ascertain the age at which a boy musician commenced his apprenticeship simply because his date of birth is not known or the record of his indenture no longer survives. Some music historians have presumed that boys were apprenticed between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one years. For example, the date of birth of Robert Johnson and Richard Farnaby has been calculated on the basis of this assumption.[28] However, Daniel Bacheler was indentured to his uncle at the age of seven and Nicholas Lanier had completed his apprenticeship when he was nineteen.[29]

The age at which musicians were indentured probably varied from one household to another depending on the patron's individual needs and taste. Salisbury, for example, particularly favoured boys' voices. On 12 June 1608 Mason's tutor Innocent Lanier wrote apologetically to the earl that 'it lay not in my power to keepe his voyce'.[30] The boy was dismissed shortly after his fourteenth birthday, almost two years prior to the completion of his apprenticeship, which implies that he entered service in his ninth year.[31] If the singing boy whom Salisbury acquired in 1608 was the Hertfordshire-born musician Simon Ives, then Mason's

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Apprentice to Husbandry, or any other trade or Art' (Rappaport, Worlds within worlds, 295; M. Dalton, The Countrey Justice (1635), 83, cap. 31).

28. K. Elliott, 'Johnson, Robert', The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. S. Sadie, 20 vols (1980), IX, 681; Owen, 'Giles and Richard Farnaby', 153

29. A. Batchelor, 'Daniel Bacheler: the right perfect musician', The Lute, 28 (1988), 3-12, see esp. p. 3. Born in 1588, Nicholas Lanier received his first wage in December 1607 (Salisbury MSS bills 14/17). Murray Lefkowitz suggests that William Lawes was indentured to the Earl of Hertford at the age of ten (William Lawes (1960), 7).

30. Salisbury MSS Box U/54

31. Contemporary records confirm that most boys lost their voice in their fourteenth or fifteenth year (D. Wulstan, Tudor Music (1985), 241). Mason was baptised on 4 August 1594 (WPL St Clement Danes parish register vol. 1 f. 28v).

replacement was eight years of age at the time of his indenture.[32] However, in order to obtain the most experienced singers, Salisbury tended to appoint boys who had received their initial training elsewhere, as in the case of those attached to the households of Sir Richard Champernown and Thomas Lord Burgh. The age at which youths were indentured for their instrumental skill was less critical. Moreover, it was to the patron's advantage to reap the fruits of another master's labours by employing boys in their late teens. John Hingeston, for example, was at least fifteen years old when he began his apprenticeship under the 4th Earl of Cumberland in August 1621.

## IV. CONDITIONS OF SERVICE

The master covenanted to instruct the apprentice in his chosen profession and to provide him with board, lodging and clothing for the duration of his indenture. A boy musician who entered private service did not receive his training directly from his master but from another household servant or a tutor appointed at the patron's expense who acted as the boy's principal. In the case of an apprentice trained by a resident employee, the principal's name was generally omitted from the records. Teaching was integral to the duties of a household musician and was therefore not accounted for separately in the disbursements paid to servants.[33] Only those tutors hired on a part-time basis can be identified:

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32. R. Charteris, 'Jacobean Musicians at Hatfield House, 1605-1613', RMA Research Chronicle, 12 (1974), 115-36, see esp. p. 127

33. The cost of £100 which Sir John Wray incurred during the apprenticeship of his organist suggests that Goodwin's teacher did not reside with the youth's master at Glentworth, Leicestershire (Huntington Library (HL), Ellesmere MS EL 6502; see below, p. 37).

Table 2.2 Apprentices and their tutors

| Apprentice | Master | Principal/s |
|---|---|---|
| Nicholas Lanier | Earl of Salisbury | John Lanier |
| George Mason | Earl of Salisbury | Innocent Lanier<br>John Coprario |
| Christian Crusse | Earl of Salisbury | John Lanier<br>Joseph Sherley |
| Simon Ives | Earl of Salisbury | Innocent Lanier |
| William Lawes | Earl of Hertford | John Coprario |
| Edward Cressett | 4th Earl of Cumberland | George Mason |
| John Hingeston | 4th Earl of Cumberland | Orlando Gibbons |

With the possible exception of William Lawes, none of the boys listed above resided under his master's roof but lived with his principal or lodged in rented accommodation during the course of his training.[34] The royal wind players John and Innocent Lanier were placed in charge of Salisbury's boy musicians for which they received an annual fee of £20 plus expenses for the instruction, board and lodging of each apprentice. By employing court-based musicians as principals Salisbury was assured easy access to the boys when their services were required in his lodgings at Whitehall or in his town house on the Strand. Cumberland's apprentices were sent away for their training. Edward Cressett lodged in York where he studied with the earl's former servant, George Mason.[35] John Hingeston journeyed further afield. Cumberland's London agent was responsible for the boy during his training in the capital.[36] The name of Hingeston's tutor is not mentioned in the accounts, but Hawkins suggests that he was Orlando Gibbons:[37]

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34. One music historian has suggested that William was educated by Coprario at the same time as serving in the cathedral choir (D.H. Robertson, Sarum Close: A History of the Life and Education of the Cathedral Choristers for 700 Years (1938), 169). According to Aubrey, William studied with Coprario during the latter's residency on the Earl of Hertford's Wiltshire estates at Amesbury and Wulfall (J. Aubrey, The Natural History of Wiltshire, ed. J. Britton (1847), 81).

35. Bolton MSS book 95 ff. 187v, 265 265v

36. Bolton MSS book 95 p. 9 and book 111 [f. 5]

37. Sir J. Hawkins, A General History of the Science and Practice of Music, 2 vols (1776/1963), II, 577

> A. Wood...was not able to fill up the blank which he left...for the name of Hingston's master, but a Ms. in the handwriting of Hingston, now extant, ascertains it. This relic is thus inscribed "My master's songs in score with some fantasias in 6 parts of my own"...the songs are subscribed Orlando Gibbons. Hence it is to be inferred that Orlando Gibbons was the master of Hingston; and this supposition is corroborated by the following anecdote, communicated by one of Hingston's descendants now living, to wit, that the Christian name Orlando, for reasons which they have hitherto been ignorant of, has in several instances been given to the males of the family.

The manuscript to which Hawkins refers has not been traced, but the name Orlando does occur at least twice in later generations of the Hingeston family.[38] Hawkins's claim is further substantiated by the musician's bequest to the music school at Oxford of a portrait of Orlando Gibbons whom he described as 'my ever honord Master'.[39]

By the late Elizabethan period boy musicians employed in private households were taught theory and a variety of practical skills including singing and playing on bowed and plucked instruments.[40] For example, Henry Lawes commented of his brother, '...neither was there any instrument then in use, but he compos'd to it so aptly as if he had only studied that.'[41] William Lawes's court appointment in 1635 confirms that he was a skilled lutenist but he must also have studied on the viol with Coprario. Despite their appointments in the royal wind band, the Lanier brothers principally taught Salisbury's apprentices to

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38. I am grateful to Dr Christopher Field for this unpublished information.

39. PRO PROB 11/375/17

40. Coprario's 'Rules how to compose', compiled around 1610, may illustrate the teaching which his pupils received (Ellesmere MS EL 6863; M.F. Bukofzer (ed.), Giovanni Coperario: Rules how to compose (Los Angeles, 1952). A bill presented by John Lanier to Salisbury's steward included paper, pens and ink purchased for his pupil Christian Crusse (Salisbury MSS bills 33). Very little is known about the general education which noble households provided for child servants including boy musicians, though it seems reasonable to assume that they acquired a degree of functional literacy (Mertes, The English Noble Household, 174). For example, preserved among the Clifford papers are Latin texts, verses from the Bible and poetical extracts in John Earsden's adolescent hand (Bolton MSS book 50-53).

41. Henry Lawes, Choice psalmes put into musick (1648), 'To the Reader'

sing and to play on the lute and viol.[42] The surviving accounts imply that the more accomplished instrumentalists received supplementary tuition. Christian Crusse, for instance, studied for a year with the viol player Joseph Sherley.[43] Boys must have been trained on keyboard instruments; however, of those listed above, only Hingeston is known to have played on the organ. In contrast to apprenticed waits and itinerant musicians, household boys rarely played on wind instruments. The fact that Lanier's father was a court flautist explains Nicholas's skill on the flute. In July 1605 John Lanier asked one of Salisbury's musicians 'to doe me the favor to heare my sonne that he might truly report unto your lo'p of my sonnes sufficiencie for the flute.'[44] Salisbury appears to have been unaware of his ability, possibly because Nicholas was attached to the retinue of William Lord Cranborne, the earl's son, then a student at St John's College, Cambridge.

In return for his training, an apprentice had to abide by the conditions set down in his indenture, the contents of which were common to all professions. The boy was expected to do faithful and diligent service and not to use his skill in the employment of others without the approval of his master. He was forbidden to play unlawful games such as cards and dice and to drink excessively. Furthermore, he was not permitted to marry. Apprentices were not entitled to pay though many received for the term of their indenture the nominal sum of one penny a year 'in the name of [their] sollary & wagis'.[45] Masters occasionally gave small sums of money or a gift in acknowledgement of a boy's labours. In June 1606, for example, Nicholas Lanier received a nag from Lord Cranborne.[46]

An apprentice had rights against a master who failed to discharge

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42. Salisbury MSS bills 14/3, bills 33, accounts 160/1 ff. 10v, 36, 106, accounts 9/5, box U/54

43. Salisbury MSS accounts 160/1 f. 106. After his voice broke Mason briefly studied on the viol with Coprario (Salisbury MSS bills 33).

44. Salisbury MSS vol. 111/100

45. Berkeley MSS select charter 822; W.G.B., '"The Science of a Mynstrell": how it was taught in Essex in 1558', Essex Review, 49 (1940), 107-110, see esp. p. 108

46. Salisbury MSS box G/2

his responsibilities such as providing adequate training or sustenance.[47] However, a boy who broke his indenture without his master's permission was subject ultimately to imprisonment. In December 1598 Henry Phillips offered himself to the Kentish gentleman Percival Harte, a kinsman and client of Salisbury, who was 'willing to intertayne him as well in regarde of his skille as for the satisfying of my own desier unto musick'. When Harte discovered that Phillips was indentured to the secretary of state and had departed without his master's 'leave or licking', he felt obliged to disclose the boy's whereabouts, notwithstanding his protestations. Harte suggested that one of Cecil's servants might persuade Phillips rather than force him by violent means, but desired a 'speadie deliverie from this sliperie charge'.[48]

Incensed by Goodwin's departure in or before January 1632/3, two years before the completion of his indenture, the Lincolnshire knight Sir John Wray suspected that his organist had sought the protection of the Earl of Bridgewater, lord president of the Council in the Marches, and demanded his return:[49]

> ...he shall never obtayne my leave to goe away till he serve out his yeres. Let him tell never so many falce tales he knowes it to be true. Indeed when he said he would eate no more of my cost, and gave ill language, I gave him a blowe with my cane, but also tould him if he would needs be gone I would send after him. And I hope no noble nor honest man will keepe him when they heare this.

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Despite the upheavals of the Reformation, household employment remained a viable alternative to service in royal, ecclesiastical or civic institutions as a mechanism for training professional musicians. The system of apprenticeship provided a legal framework within which the responsibilities of master and servant were clearly defined. Boy musicians were assured security of office for the duration of their indenture, and, in many instances, they were trained by prominent

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47. Dalton, The Countrey Justice, 78, cap. 31

48. Salisbury MSS vol. 66/65 and 68. Percival Harte was a cousin of Cecil's father-in-law, William Brooke, 10th Lord Cobham ('The History of the House of Commons, 1558-1603', The History of Parliament, ed. P.W. Hasler, 3 vols (1981), I, 265).

49. Ellesmere MS EL 6502

figures within the fields of composition and performance. The evidence available from the earls listed in Appendix I suggests that the system was reasonably successful at educating young musicians and in fostering and employing their talents.

## CHAPTER THREE

## THE EMPLOYMENT OF HOUSEHOLD MUSICIANS

After the Reformation the number of adult musicians employed in noble households declined. The 5th Earl of Northumberland, for example, had maintained eight to thirteen singing men and three minstrels in full-time service and six trumpeters on a temporary basis during the Henrician period.[1] However, less than a century later R.B., the author of 'Some rules and orders for the government of the house of an earle', recommended the nobility to employ a maximum of seven permanent musicians: a trumpeter and drummer, and a five-man consort whose duties were both heraldic and recreational.[2] Furthermore, by the end of the Elizabethan period many household bands comprised a mixture of professional and amateur musicians drawn from a wide cross-section of the musical community, and employed on a full-time or part-time basis under a contract of service, the terms of which were legally binding. This chapter examines the status of household musicians, the means by which they entered private employment, and their conditions of service including wages, livery, board and lodging, protection, and advancement within and beyond the noble household.[3]

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1. Bowers, 'The Vocal Scoring, Choral Balance and Performing Pitch of Latin Church Polyphony', 58; T. Percy, The Regulations and Establishment of the Household of Henry Algernon Percy, 5th Earl of Northumberland (NHB) (1905), 45

2. GB-British Library (Lbl) Add. MS 29262 f. 1. In her recent study of Tudor revels, Suzanne Westfall distinguished between the household duties of 'heraldic' and 'recreational' minstrels. The title 'minstrel' lost its status by the late sixteenth century, but the distinction between 'heraldic' or ceremonial and 'recreational' or private was just as pertinent to the ceremony of state observed by the early Stuart nobility as their early Tudor forbearers (Patrons and Performance: Early Tudor Household Revels (Oxford, 1990), 64-76; see Chapter 4, pp. 89-90 and Chapter 7, pp. 180-87).

3. Appendix III lists the professional and amateur musicians employed on a full-time or regular part-time basis in the noble households examined, and includes details of the period during which they served and their musical skill/s where known. Composers claiming some form of employment or regular patronage from a dedicatee are also listed in parentheses.

## I. STATUS OF HOUSEHOLD MUSICIANS

### 1. Professional musicians

Approximately half of the adult musicians listed in Appendix III were hired primarily to carry out musical duties.[4] This figure conflicts with Woodfill's assumption that few professional musicians earned their living exclusively from private employment.[5] The reasons for this discrepancy are two-fold. First, Woodfill seldom found regular payments to musicians, in his view the best indicator of full-time professional service, in the manuscript and printed sources which he examined. Financial remuneration is a useful test, but it is by no means conclusive. As discussed below, the fluctuating fortunes of noble employers coupled with the vagaries of early modern accounting sometimes create the false impression that a household did not maintain resident musicians. For example, servants like the Earl of Dorset's singer, John Myners, who were paid a life annuity instead of a quarterly stipend were occasionally omitted from the wage accounts.[6]

Secondly, employees hired principally for their musical skills are not always easy to identify as they are rarely described in household

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4. Theoretically, professional musicians in full-time service received regular quarterly or half-yearly payments, and were entitled to lodging within the household or in rented accommodation financed by the patron, board and livery or clothing. It should be noted, however, that the extant records pertaining to individuals listed within this category rarely satisfy all these criteria. By the late sixteenth century an absolute division of responsibilities among household members did not exist. The community was constantly changing to meet demands (Mertes, The English Noble Household, 20). For example, the Cliffords' organist, John Hingeston, also served as butler and yeoman of the wine cellar for at least ten years, and was responsible for purchasing wine, beer, bottles, corks, glasses, and other necessities for the buttery (Bolton MSS book 235, 'A memoriall of such plate as is remayning in the buttery and pantry under the charge of John Hingstone, butler and yeoman of the wine seller for the tyme being', 1 January 1635/6; see also book 161, book 173 ff. 132v, 135 and 147, book 177 ff. 258, 265 and 278). Salisbury's musicians, Cormack MacDermott and Nicholas Lanier, frequently acted as couriers to Ireland and mainland Europe respectively on behalf of their patron (S. Donnelly, 'An Irish Harper and Composer Cormac MacDermott (?-1618), Ceol, 8/1-2 (1986), 40-50, see esp. pp. 40-41; Ashbee, RECM, IV, 87; PRO SP78 France 57/84).

5. Woodfill, Musicians in English Society, 61

6. KAO U269/A1/1; PRO PROB 11/113/1; see below pp. 67-69

records by the title 'musician', though in many instances a servant's connection with instruments and music infers that he worked in a musical capacity.[7] For instance, Molsoe regularly purchased lutes and strings for his own use; it is therefore reasonable to presume that he served first and foremost as lutenist to William Baron Cavendish.

Domestic singers and instrumentalists occupied a relatively privileged position within the household community in that their wide-ranging duties gave them access to both the public and private apartments of the noble house.[8] The titles often accorded to them reflect not only their social status but also the service which they performed. Within the pyramidical structure of the noble house servants were grouped by rank and by the nature of their work. At the apex were the senior officers including the steward who was responsible for the smooth day-to-day running of the household, the comptroller or treasurer, and the chaplain. Next came the administrative officers such as the clerk of the kitchen and the marshall of the hall who ensured that household policy was carried out in the departments under their control. The remaining household members, including musicians, were categorised principally by rank: gentlemen, yeomen and grooms.[9] The title 'gentleman' referred to a landowner with tenants of his own, but it had no legal definition and therefore could be applied to an individual 'as a matter of custom or social acceptance'.[10] For example, royal musicians by virtue of their

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7. The chequerroll provides a title for most household employees, and is therefore a useful source in determining a servant's duties (Mertes, The English Noble Household, 20). However, the term 'musician' occurs only in the papers of the earls of Dorset, Westmorland, Hertford, Huntingdon and Shrewsbury.

8. F. Heal, Hospitality in Early Modern England (Oxford, 1990), 29-30

9. For example, a list of the Marquess of Exeter's servants drawn up in December 1538 includes musicians of the ranks of gentleman (a kinsman of the lady marquess), yeoman (three employees, one of whom was master of the musicians) and groom (J. Gairdner (ed.), Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic Henry VIII (1893), XIII/2, 292-94).

10. Mertes, op. cit., 27

office could style themselves 'gentleman'.[11] Certain kinds of household service also conferred gentility. John Wilbye, the son of a Norfolk tanner, who spent his adult career in the employment of the Kytson family and their daughter, Mary, Countess Rivers, adopted the title of gentleman.[12] Generally though, household musicians occupied the lower ranks of yeoman, a position which required a degree of responsibility and skill, and groom, a servant of low birth and social status. For example, Shrewsbury's musician Richard Smyth and the 4th Earl of Derby's trumpeter John King were classed as yeomen. The Danish musician Martin Otto, who served the Talbot family, was probably a groom.[13]

Household service principally fell into two categories, preparatory and waiting. The duties of the latter involved public attendance upon the master, his family and guests and included musical entertainment in both the great hall, the venue for ceremonial music, and the more private apartments such as the great chamber where recreational musicians performed. It was therefore common for singers and instrumentalists to be described as yeomen waiters or grooms of the chamber, titles which did not imply that the bearer was of amateur rather than professional status.[14] For example, Richard Smyth served as

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11. Furthermore, Thomas Whythorne noted that 'a king of heralds may give arms to any that is excellently skilled in any of the seven liberal sciences (whereof music is one) although he nor his ancestors might never give any before' (J.M. Osborn (ed.), The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne (Oxford, 1961), 211, 243). T. Woodcock and J.M. Robinson, The Oxford Guide to Heraldry (Oxford, 1990), 33

12. E.H. Fellowes, 'John Wilbye', The English Madrigal School, 6 (1914), viii. At least 40% of household employees were tenured for more than ten years, though for some individuals household service was a lifetime career (Mertes, The English Noble Household, 67). Adult musicians in full-time employment held posts from as little as three months to over forty years. In the Clifford household, for example, John Earsden, John Hingeston and William Hudson served forty-seven, twenty-four and seventeen years respectively.

13. Lambeth Palace Library (Lambeth PL) MS 3203 f. 582; F.R. Raines (ed.), 'The Derby Household Books, Chetham Society, 31/2 (1853), 85. In a chequerroll dated March 1604/5 Otto's name is bracketed together with another servant named William Cannegeter described elsewhere as 'groom of the chamber' (Lambeth PL MS 3203 ff. 282v and 505).

14. Whythorne described himself as Lady Dudley's 'chief waiting man' (Osborn, The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne, 83).

a yeoman waiter and the 4th Earl of Cumberland's musicians Edward Cressett, Charles Pendrie and John Earsden were described as 'of the chamber'.[15]

Contrary to R.B.'s advice, few early-seventeenth-century noble households retained more than two or three professional adult musicians in full-time employment. Of the patrons listed in Appendix I, Salisbury and Dorset are exceptional. Sir Michael Hickes, secretary to William Lord Burghley, claimed to have persuaded Sir Robert Cecil to establish a resident band. In 1608 he wrote to the earl, I confesse...that to your Lp' owne naturall and noble disposition to musick I added my best endevour to drawe yow one to erect a consort.'[16] Owing to the fragmentary nature of the records prior to 1607, Hickes's claim cannot be verified, nor is it possible to date the formation of Cecil's 'consort'. However, at least one musician is known to have been employed from about 1591, and from 1607 to his death Cecil maintained a permanent group of two boys and three to five men.[17] Cecil's 'most speciall and deerest friend', the Earl of Dorset, supported a band of comparable size and status, which may have been a model for him. By 1607-08 Dorset employed as many as eleven professional musicians.[18]

The retinues of some early Tudor noblemen had included a permanent band

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15. Lambeth PL MS 3203 f. 582; Bolton MSS book 96 ff. 43v and 125v; PRO PROB 11/119/49. The same is true of musicians employed at court. Those allowed access to the privy chamber (lutenists, keyboard players and distinguished soloists) were given the titles of groom (Philip van Wilder, Mathias Mason, Daniel Bacheler, Ferdinando Heybourne, Alfonso Ferrabosco II), gentleman usher (Antony Holborne), and so on.

16. Ibl Lansdowne MS 90 f. 178. Hickes's use of the term 'consort' is noteworthy, but may refer simply to a band of musicians.

17. Nicholas Lanier, Henry Oxford and William Frost are included among those servants in receipt of a quarterly wage (see Table 3.4). According to Hickes, Cecil also maintained a bass singer prior to April 1608, but it has not been possible to establish his identity (Salisbury MSS vol. 125/111). In a letter to the earl dated 28 March 1608 Sir Fulke Greville described Thomas Warwick as 'your servant' (Salisbury MSS vol. 125/66). Warwick was reimbursed for the cost of mending Cecil's 'wynd instruments' in March 1608/9, but there is no record of him receiving a regular salary (Salisbury MSS accounts 160/1 f. 18v, accounts 9/5).

18. KAO U269/A1/1

of trumpeters.[19] However, by the end of the sixteenth century the number serving within an individual household fell dramatically. Only five of the patrons listed in Appendix I are known to have employed a trumpeter within their household:[20]

**Table 3.1 Trumpeters in private service**

| Patron | Trumpeter | Dates of service<br>< = before, > = after |
|---|---|---|
| 4th Earl of Derby[21] | George Campion | 1587 |
| | John King | 1587- > July 1590 |
| 2nd Earl of Pembroke[22] | Robert Hunne | < Sept. 1570-> Mar. 1571 |
| 4th Earl of Cumberland | Arthur Wyatt | < Aug. 1607-> July 1614 |
| 5th Earl of Rutland | Nynnion Gibbion | < June 1610-> Dec. 1611 |
| 6th Earl of Rutland | unidentified | < Dec. 1615-> Mar. 1616 |

Few Jacobean and Caroline noblemen retained a trumpeter permanently. Arthur Wyatt, the 4th Earl of Cumberland's servant, is first mentioned in a chequerroll compiled on 25 August 1607 and in the Michaelmas accounts for that year he received a quarterly salary.[23]

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19. Prior to the Tudor period aristocratic retinues included a pair of trumpeters; however, by the accession of Henry VII their number had increased to six or more (Westfall, Patrons and Performance, 65-66). The Northumberland Household Book is typical of the period in recording six in the employment of a duke or earl (NHB, 329).

20. Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury paid a trumpeter named John Bridge on at least three occasions, but it is unlikely that he was a member of her household (Hardwick MS 7 ff. 147 and 172v; Hardwick MS 8 f. 89v). The 2nd Earl of Salisbury paid 20s to Robert White, trumpeter in April 1622 (Salisbury MSS box G/9). It is not clear from the reference if this constitutes a reward for a particular service or wages for a period of regular employment. A trumpeter is included in the account for the 7th Earl of Shrewsbury's journey to York to meet James I in April 1603, but the chequerrolls for the Talbot household do not refer to one in residence (Lambeth PL MS 694 f. 50).

21. Raines, 'The Derby Household Books', 23-27, 84-88. Campion may have accompanied Derby during his ambassadorial visit to the Low Countries in the autumn of 1587. A list of servants left behind includes John King (Raines, ibid., 38).

22. Ibl Harl. MS 7186 ff. 195, 182-83. Hunne became a royal trumpeter in July 1576 and remained in court service until his death on 14 April 1581 (Ashbee, RECM, VI, 135).

23. Bolton MSS book 73; Yorkshire Archaeological Society (YAS) DD121/36/A2 f. 165

Wyatt continued to serve the Cliffords on a full-time basis until at least August 1614, at which point he may have moved to Hull.[24] On 14 May 1621, a trumpeter of that city who had 'formerly bene my Lo: servant' was employed briefly at Londesborough.[25] The published accounts of the Manners household imply that a trumpeter regularly served the 5th and 6th Earls of Rutland.[26] Nynnion Gibbion was patronised by Roger Manners for at least eighteen months between June 1610 and December 1611, during which time he received livery and an annual wage.[27] Gibbion may have remained in the family's employment following his master's death. The December 1615 accounts for the 6th earl include a payment of quarterly wages to an unnamed trumpeter.[28]

At least five other early Stuart households may have employed a trumpeter on a regular basis. Trumpets purchased by Sir William Cavendish, the 5th Earl of Bath and the 2nd Earl of Westmorland imply that musicians were readily available to play on them.[29] Two instruments are also recorded in the 1629 probate inventory of the Earl of Westmorland.[30] The 3rd Earl of Dorset owned livery coats for two trumpeters; but the fact that the material was re-used for upholstering furniture at Knole in 1618 suggests that they were no longer employed in the Sackville household.[31]

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24. During the same period Cumberland hired a second trumpeter, one Ned from Hull, to play at Londesborough (Bolton MSS book 52 (9 August 1609) and book 231 f. 34 (Candlemas, February 1610/1)).

25. Bolton MSS book 95 f. 242 and book 99 f. 112v

26. Two years prior to the death of the 4th earl 40s was paid to 'my Lord trumpettour', and in June 1586 the family's coat-of-arms was drawn upon a trumpet banner (HMC Rutland, IV, 388-89).

27. HMC Rutland, IV, 471, 474-75. Gibbion may have served Rutland from as early as 1588, the year in which a yeoman of the same name was included in a list of servants entitled to livery (HMC Rutland, I, 267).

28. HMC Rutland, IV, 507

29. Hardwick MS 10B; KAO U269/A256; Northamptonshire Record Office (NRO) W(A) misc. vol. 7 ff. 41 and 64. See Appendix VII

30. NRO W (A) Box 6 parcel v misc. nos 1-2

31. KAO U269/F79/1

**2. Amateur musicians**

The amateur musical status of resident servants which obtained in the household of Sir James Whitelocke was probably more common among the nobility than the surviving evidence would suggest:[32]

> ... he had in his guift & belonging to his servants, several offices & places of good Value...& for these he found out such men as were good schollars, civill men & that also had good skill in musicke; On such he bestowed those places, & they lived his meniall servants in his house with him, executing their Offices, as well as any others, & likewise delighting their Master with their skill & performance of their parts in his musicke.

At least eight of the musicians listed in Appendix III earned their living principally in a non-musical capacity. Elizabeth, Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury appears to have retained no professional musicians at Hardwick, except possibly Thomas Banes, singing master to her grandchildren.[33] Her band comprised a chaplain-in-ordinary (James Starkey), two gentlemen servants (John Dandridge alias Good and Francis Parker), and the son of a lady-in-waiting (Richard Abrahall).[34] Household chaplains often doubled in the role of tutors, and those skilled in music included instrumental and vocal tuition in their curriculum, as in the case of Starkey and Oates who taught Master William Cavendish.[35] Hertford's sons, Edward Lord Beauchamp and Thomas Seymour, received their musical training principally from Gilbert Prynne, a senior household officer.[36]

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32. Ibl Add. MS 53726 f. 62v

33. Arundel Castle Archives, T6

34. The countess's servants received several gifts of money for playing and singing (Hardwick MS 7 ff. 131, 148v-149, 161v, 172v, 195; Hardwick MS 8 ff. 39v, 107v, 109v, 150).

35. See Chapter 6, pp. 148-49

36. Longleat, Seymour papers vol. v f. 186. The boy's tutor Robert Smyth, who may also have been Hertford's chaplain, was described by one member of the Seymour family as 'Smith the minstrell' (Seymour papers vol. v f. 124; J.E. Jackson, 'Wulfhall and the Seymours', Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine, 15 (1875), 140-207, see esp. p. 199).

### 3. Musicians employed on a part-time basis

Nearly a quarter of the musicians included in Appendix III served on a regular part-time basis or benefitted intermittently from the patronage of an individual employer. Of these, ten held court appointments and three were attached to choral foundations:[37]

**Table 3.2 Occupations of musicians employed on a part-time basis**

| Musician | Patron | Full-time post |
|---|---|---|
| Orlando Gibbons | 4th Earl of Cumberland | Chapel Royal; King's Musick |
| William Byrd | 4th Earl of Cumberland<br>4th Earl of Worcester | Chapel Royal |
| Ferdinando Heybourne | Sir Robert Sidney | Groom of the privy chamber, Elizabeth I and James I |
| Michael Cavendish | Sir William Cavendish | servant to the prince of Wales |
| Cormack MacDermott | Earl of Salisbury | King's Musick |
| Alfonso Ferrabosco II | 3rd Earl of Southampton<br>Earl of Hertford<br>Earl of Montgomery | King's Musick |
| Innocent Lanier | Earl of Salisbury | King's Musick |
| John Lanier | Earl of Salisbury | King's Musick |
| Henry Lawes | Earl of Bridgewater<br>Countess of Derby<br>Earl of Newcastle | Chapel Royal; King's Musick |
| William Lawes | Earl of Bridgewater<br>Countess of Derby | King's Musick |
| John Bartlet | Earl of Hertford | Master of the Choristers Salisbury Cathedral[38] |
| George Mason | 4th Earl of Cumberland | Master of the Choristers York Minster[39] |
| Francis Pilkington | 6th Earl of Derby | Lay clerk and minor cannon, Chester Cathedral[40] |

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37. Prior to his appointment to Prince Charles's household in 1622 John Coprario enjoyed both royal and private patronage (Ashbee, RECM, IV, 226).

38. Robertson suggests that Bartlet was appointed master of the choristers in 1598, thirteen years earlier than the records would imply (Sarum Close, 172).

39. York Minster Library, Chapter Acts 1563-1634 f. 475v

40. Pilkington served as lay clerk at Chester Cathedral from Midsummer 1602 (D. Brown, 'Pilkington Francis', The New Grove, XIV, 749-50). Derby was a benefactor of Chester Cathedral and gave £100 to

In addition, Nicholas Lanier, Anthony Roberts, Charles Coleman, Henry Lawes, Alfonso Ferrabosco III and Thomas Lanier were temporarily employed by aristocratic patrons following the disbandment of the royal household in 1642.[41]

## II. ACQUISITION

It is impossible to establish the route by which each of the adult musicians listed in Appendix III entered full-time or part-time private employment, though it is clear from the surviving evidence that patrons acquired their servants from a variety of sources. Furthermore, several musicians could claim more than one route to securing the patronage of a particular nobleman. For example, Francis Pilkington was related to servants of and shared local ties with the earls of Derby.[42]

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the foundation, the interest of which was paid for the use of the organist (F.R. Raines, 'The Stanley Papers, pt iii, vol. i', Chetham Society, 66 (1867), xlvi).

41. Cormack MacDermott, George Mason and Henry Lawes continued to enjoy the patronage of their noble patrons consequent to their departure from household service. The number of musicians identified in this group excludes musicians hired once or twice only. For example, of the seven who accompanied the Earl of Hertford on his embassy to Brussels in 1605 to present the order of knight of the garter to Archduke Albert of Austria, only two, John Bartlet and John Daniel, are known to have been the earl's clients (Seymour papers vol. xi ff. 135v-36). John Bartlet claimed that his publication A First Booke of Ayres (1606) was inspired by Hertford's patronage, and acknowledged his gratitude in the following terms, 'Amongst many, that on the Muses behalfe doe owe your Lordshippe the tribute of their pennes, I must professe my self to stand deepliest engaged in the debt of dutie...'. Two of the musicians in Hertford's retinue, Richard Ball and Stephen Thomas, were attached to the London company of waits while a third, Robert Johnson, served among the lutes in the King's Musick (Woodfill, Musicians in English Society, 248, 301).

42. Pilkington dedicated The First Booke of Songes or Ayres (1605) to William Stanley, 6th Earl of Derby. The composer's family were natives of Lancashire which at one time had been the Stanley power base in the north of England, and at least two of Pilkington's relatives enjoyed the patronage of the earls of Derby (B. Coward, 'The Stanleys: Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby 1385-1672', Chetham Society, 3rd series 30 (1983), chpt. 11; J.C. Bridge, 'Two Chester Madrigal Writers', Journal of the Chester and North Wales Architectural Society, new series 6 (1897), 60-73, see esp. p. 65).

**1. Apprentices**

The 5th Earl of Huntingdon advised his son:[43]

> ...let none of them that have served thee seven years as menials, but according to thy means and their desert do for them, giving them some such annual thing to live of during their lives that having served thee in their youth, may maintain thee in their age.

In many branches of household service boys were retained through adolescence to adulthood, being promoted to offices for which they had received training either of a formal or informal nature.[44] However, owing to the degree of specialisation, boy musicians were not guaranteed employment from the master under whom they had served out their apprenticeship. Of the boys listed in Table 2.1, six are known to have been retained on completion of their indenture -- Lanier and Crusse (Earl of Salisbury), and Mason, Earsden, Cressett and Hingeston (4th Earl of Cumberland).[45]

**2. Kinship Ties**

Many servants obtained their positions through kinship ties.[46] In particular branches of household employment several relatives often worked together within a single unit, though in terms of discipline, this could have its drawbacks for the master. The 7th Earl of Derby, for example, warned his son, 'I am loth to have many of a House too neere a-kin. For by that Meanes you will sometimes suffer one too

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43. HMC Hastings, IV, 334

44. Mertes, The English Noble Household, 31, 170

45. Crusse remained in Salisbury's employment until his death in February 1612 (Salisbury MSS box G/13 f. 11). It has been suggested that Nicholas Lanier was attached to the household of Henry, prince of Wales (d. November 1612) on the basis of a letter which he sent to Sir Dudley Carleton (Sir L. Stephen and Sir S. Lee (eds), Dictionary of National Biography (DNB), 22 vols (rep. 1973), XI, 575). However, the 'mutual' good master to whom Lanier refers is more likely to have been Salisbury. Carleton was employed as one of the earl's secretaries from 1607. The letter includes a curious statement in which Lanier confides in Carleton that '[he] knows not which is the more dangerous attempt, to turn courtier or cloune (i.e. one who does not live in the city)' (F.L. Graham, 'The Earlier Life and Work of Nicholas Lanier (1588-1666), Collector of Paintings and Drawings' (M.A., Columbia University, 1966), 17).

46. Mertes, The English Noble Household, 64

much, for another's Sake.'[47] Certain offices were also handed down from one generation of servants to another. However, in contrast to the main royal music in which nepotism and reversion resulted in a handful of families monopolising court posts, private households rarely employed more than one musician from an individual family.[48] At least ten of the musicians listed in Appendix III were related to a servant, but of these only four could claim kinship ties with a musician who already served in the household on a regular basis.[49] John Lanier and his apprenticed son, Nicholas, were employed by the Earl of Salisbury; the Egerton family patronised Henry Lawes's younger brother,William,during the 1630s; and following the disbandment of the royal household in 1642, the 4th Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery hired two of Ferrabosco's relatives, his son Alfonso III and Thomas Lanier, his nephew by marriage.[50]

Resident and part-time musical servants were occasionally employed in the households of noblemen who shared familial or political ties with their master. For instance, of the tutors hired to educate William Cavendish, one served as chaplain to the boy's cousin, Lady Arbella Stuart (Thomas Oates), and two others were employed by his grandmother, the Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury (Thomas Banes and James Starkey). Coprario and Innocent Lanier simultaneously enjoyed the patronage of the Cecils and their court allies the Cliffords.[51]

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47. F.R. Raines (ed.), 'The Stanley Papers, part iii, vol. iii', Chetham Society, 70 (1867), 36

48. G.A. Phillips, 'Crown Musical Patronage from Elizabeth I to Charles I', M&L, 58 (1977), 29-42, see esp. p. 38

49. These findings compare with the city guilds in which only 20% of their members were the sons of professional musicians (D.R.G. Lasocki, 'Professional Recorder Players in England, 1540-1740' 2 vols (Ph.D., University of Iowa, 1983), I, 533). Thomas Robinson informed his dedicatee,William Lord Cranborne,that his father had served Lord Burghley and that he had been employed by the earls of Exeter and Salisbury (New Citharen Lessons (1609); see Appendix II).

50. Table 3.2; Salisbury MSS accounts 127/9; L. Cust, 'Lanier', Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica, 5th series 6 (1926-28), 382-83. Two composers were related to their patron: Thomas Ravenscroft and Michael Cavendish were respectively cousins of Sir John Egerton and William Baron Cavendish (Sir J.E. Lloyd and R.T. Jenkins (eds), Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940 (1959), 522).

51. Bolton MSS books 51-52; book 95 ff. 120, 242v; book 97, f. 36

### 3. Local ties

The majority of household employees were locals, the more menial servants coming from the area immediately around the household's geographical centre.[52] As regards music, patrons supported provincial talent through the employment of waits and other itinerants. The Cliffords, for example, hired musicians from towns situated within relatively easy reach of their Yorkshire estates at Skipton and Londesborough.[53] Responsibility towards the local community is further evidenced by the apprenticeships given to local boys. At least three of the musicians included in Table 2.1 were born within the same county as their master resided: John Hingeston (Yorkshire), Simon Ives (Hertfordshire) and William Lawes (Wiltshire).[54] The 4th Earl of Cumberland, the Earl of Hertford and the 6th Earl of Derby also exploited their patronage of the county's principal choral foundations at York, Salisbury and Chester to enlist the services of adult musicians on a part-time basis.[55]

### 4. Musicians working in London and in royal households at home and abroad

In contrast to many branches of household service, an aptitude for music was enjoyed by relatively few individuals. It was therefore necessary for a patron to cast a much wider net if he was to catch the most talented performers and composers.[56]

By the end of the sixteenth century attendance at court and parliament brought noblemen and their families to London for several

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52. Mertes, The English Noble Household, 61

53. See Chapter 4

54. Both Amner and his patron the 3rd Earl of Bath were East Anglians.

55. Nicholas Strogers who was patronised by Bath's guardian, Sir William Spring, may have been a native of Suffolk (Lbl Harl. MS 7390 ff. 23v, 55, 103-03v; J.C. Pistor, 'Nicholas Strogers, Tudor composer and his circle' (B. Litt., Oxford, 1971), 3). Francis Cutting was probably a native of East Anglia where the Howards held vast estates (Hulse, 'Francis and Thomas Cutting', 73-74).

56. W.L. Gunderscheimer, 'Patronage in the Renaissance: An Exploratory Approach', Patronage in the Renaissance, eds G.F. Lytle & S. Orgel (Princeton, 1981), 3-23

months of the year where they came into contact with the cream of English musical talent, namely servants employed in the main royal music and in the households of the queen and the prince of Wales, and musicians working on the periphery of the court. Several notable figures including Coprario, Thomas Campion and Robert Dowland, resided in London where they were employed simultaneously by more than one patron, in preference to residing permanently in a single provincial household, though London-based musicians occasionally spent brief periods away from the capital. Campion, for example, described the Yorkshire estate of his patron the 4th Earl of Cumberland, as '...the Muses pallace I have knowne'.[57]

Owing to their court commitments, royal musicians were employed solely by the nobility on a temporary basis, performing either in households located within the vicinity of Whitehall or visiting a county seat for a specific event staged by their patron. For instance, Henry Lawes journeyed to the Earl of Bridgewater's residence at Ludlow in Shropshire where he participated in the production and performance of the masque of Comus in September 1634.[58] Royal musicians were generally appointed for life and only surrendered court posts under extreme circumstances such as illness or old age. Tenure was not jeopardised by a monarch's decease, though Prince Henry's musical establishment was disbanded following his death in November 1612.[59] Most of the prince's musicians eventually secured appointments either in Charles's household following his investiture as prince of Wales in 1616, or in the main royal music. Three sought employment in private households close to the court. Within four months of Henry's death,

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57. Campion, Two bookes of ayres (c. 1613)

58. See Chapter 7, pp. 236-37. Royal musicians enjoyed a certain amount of free time from court service. A system of one month/week on, one month/week off operated within the royal household, and during the summer progress only a limited number of musicians were expected to attend upon the monarch. Even so, Aubrey exaggerated when he wrote that Alfonso Ferrabosco II 'lived most in Wiltshire...with Edward Earl of Hertford' (Natural History of Wiltshire, 80).

59. Contracts of musicians appointed 'during pleasure' seem to have been terminated on the death of a monarch, though they were usually renewed (Ashbee, RECM, II, vii). K. Sharpe, 'The image of virtue: the court and household of Charles I, 1625-1642', The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War, ed. D. Starkey (1987), 226-60, see esp. pp. 227-28

William Baron Cavendish offered a post to the lutenist, Thomas Cutting, who prior to his royal appointment had served the peer's niece, Lady Arbella Stuart.[60] Cutting remained in Cavendish's employment until his own death twelve months later.[61] Neither the viol player Vallentyne Sawyer nor the lutenist Matthew Johnson continued to serve in any formal capacity at court. Both musicians were employed briefly by the 2nd Earl of Salisbury, a member of Henry's circle.[62]

Two English musicians were forced to seek private employment on their departure from the court of Christian IV of Denmark. The reason for John Dowland's dismissal after eight years' service is not recorded, though his conduct seems to have been unsatisfactory. He returned to England in 1606 and eventually joined the retinue of Theophilus Lord Howard de Walden. Dowland remained in private service until October 1612 when he secured an appointment in the King's Musick.[63]

There is some doubt over the identity of the second musician, Johan Meinert, who fled from Christian's court at Elsinore in 1601 in the company of the viol player Daniel Norcombe. Scholars have suggested that the singer was either John Maynard or John Myners. The surviving

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60. To return to Lady Arbella's service was out of the question; she had been imprisoned in the Tower since 1611. James feared his cousin Lady Arbella because of her claim to the English throne. Her clandestine marriage to William Seymour, grandson of the Earl of Hertford, on 22 June 1610 provided him with the excuse to remove her from the public eye (D.N. Durant, Arbella Stuart: A Rival to the Queen (1978), 180-210).

61. L. Hulse, 'Hardwick MS 29: A New Source for Jacobean Lutenists', The Lute, 26/2 (1986), 63-72, see esp. pp. 63-64

62. Salisbury MSS accounts 128/1 and 13/24. The surviving evidence contradicts Roy Strong's claim that Salisbury was one of Prince Henry's closest friends (Henry Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance (1986), 11). Johnson later served the earl between 1626 and 1629 (Salisbury MSS accounts 160/6 ff. 20, 66v, 118v; box N/7, p. 17).

63. D. Poulton, John Dowland (2nd ed., 1982), 54-64. Dowland in A Pilgrims Solace (1612), dedicated to Lord Howard de Walden, describes himself as 'held up onely by your gratious hand' but he does not record the nature of his employment.

evidence supports the latter identification.[64] Myners may have joined the Earl of Dorset's household shortly after his return to England, though the earliest reference to him in the Sackville papers dates from 1607. However, it is clear from the high esteem in which he was regarded by Dorset that Myners had been in service for some considerable time before this date.[65]

## 5. Aliens[66]

The statute of 32 Henry VIII c. 16 (1540) ruled that an English subject could not retain more than four aliens in service, except for members of the upper and lower houses who were entitled to have up to six; however, within sixty years this regulation had lapsed. Many late Elizabethan and early Stuart noble households maintained alien servants on an intermittent or permanent basis, including artisans (embroiderers, painters and sculptors), riding instructors, language tutors, dancing masters and musicians. At least eight of the apprentices and adult musicians listed in Appendix III were classed by their contemporaries as aliens:[67]

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64. Poulton, ibid., 58; I. Harwood, 'Maynard, John', The New Grove, XI, 856-57. It is unlikely that Maynard who was appointed a commissary of musters in Ireland would have received a sinecure while abroad. J. Bergsagel, 'Danish Musicians in England 1611-1614: Newly Discovered Instrumental Music', Dansk aarbog for musikforskning, 7 (1973-6), 9-20, see esp. p. 16

65. KAO U269/A1/1; PRO PROB 11/113/1

66. An alien was defined as 'one born in a strange country under the obedience of a strange prince'. The term 'foreigner' was used at this time to mean an Englishman born outside a particular franchise or jurisdiction (I. Scouloudi, 'Returns of Strangers in the Metropolis 1597, 1627, 1635, 1639: A Study of an active Minority', Huguenot Society, 67 (1985), 1).

67. Scouloudi, ibid., 1, 5, 7, 49. Excluded from Table 3.3 are first- and second-generation English-born children of alien parent/s, that is Horatio Lupo and members of the Ferrabosco and Lanier families. Dorset's servant, William Frigozi, is not mentioned in the returns of aliens. He may have been English-born of alien descent. It is doubtful if the French musician, Charles Tessier, was patronised by Sir Robert Cecil. An incomplete autograph copy of his air de cour, 'En voulez-vous, Madame', survives among the Hatfield papers. Cecil may have acquired the manuscript from his cousin, Anthony Bacon, who had been asked in 1597 to find an English patron for the composer (Salisbury MSS vol. 200/84; G. Ungerer, 'The French Lutenist Charles Tessier and the

**Table 3.3 Alien musicians in private service**

| Musician | Nationality | Patron |
|---|---|---|
| William Damon[68] | Walloon or Italian | Thomas Baron Buckhurst |
| Martin Otto | Danish | 7th Earl of Shrewsbury |
| Lambert | French | William Baron Cavendish |
| Leues Fleuron[69] | French | William Baron Cavendish |
| Christian Crusse | Danish | Earl of Salisbury |
| M. Simon | French | Henry Lord Clifford |
| Anthony Roberts | French | Marquess of Hertford |
| Jacques Gaultier | French | Earl of Buckingham |

Lambert, Fleuron, Roberts and Gaultier came into contact with their respective employers in England. Damon was probably hired abroad when Buckhurst was travelling in Italy.[70] The recorder player claimed to have immigrated to London in 1565 with the sole purpose of joining the nobleman's retinue.[71] Writing to the 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, Otto recalled that 'it is now xv yeares & upward since it pleased your lo' first to call me & accept of my service'.[72] It is not known how Otto came to the earl's notice, though Shrewsbury had travelled on the continent during Elizabeth's reign.

Although Salisbury patronised a cosmopolitan circle of friends and artisans, like many of his contemporaries, he rarely employed alien

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Essex Circle', Renaissance Quarterly, 28 (1975), 190-203, see esp. pp. 198-99). Thomas Vautor, attached to the Villiers family, may have been of Huguenot origin (E.H. Fellowes, The English madrigal composers (1967), 288).

68. There is some doubt over Damon's nationality (Lasocki, 'Professional Recorder Players in England', II, 673).

69. One Lewes Floreydon, listed in a return of aliens in April 1625, may be synonymous with Cavendish's French lutenist (R.E.G. Kirk and E.F. Kirk, 'Returns of Aliens in London 1598-1625', Huguenot Society, 10/3 (1907), 287).

70. See Chapter 6, fn. 112

71. R.E.G. Kirk and E.F. Kirk, 'Returns of Aliens in London 1571-1597', Huguenot Society, 10/2 (1902), 39; DNB, XVII, 587. Similar circumstances may account for Henry Lord Clifford's patronage of a French lutenist named Simon. Clifford studied on the lute in Paris during his year's enrolment at de Pluvinel's Academy and may have acquired the musician while abroad (Chapter 6, pp. 170-71).

72. Lambeth PL MS 708 f. 196

musicians. The Laniers, despite their continental surname, were first- and second-generation English-born subjects of French descent, while Coprario was really John Cooper who had affected the Italian style in order to gain patronage. Only one alien musician is known to have served in the earl's household, the Danish apprentice, Christian Crusse, who may have been a gift from the king of Denmark, entertained by Salisbury at Theobalds in July 1606.[73] One explanation for this is that music, in contrast to some other art forms, requires an intermediary — the performer — between composer and audience. Compositions can be distributed independently of the composer and acquire incidentally new and different associations depending on the performer. Consequently foreign music did not demand the potentially hazardous employment of alien musicians by English patrons.

### 6. Church musicians

One contemporary observer reported that during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries musicians serving in choral foundations relinquished their posts in favour of private employment:[74]

> ... it is true indeed for noble men and gentlemens private service and delight in their houses ... those which have any skill or government of their voices are, as it were pluckt away violently from those Churches which in their youth were bred choristers to the end that these places that bredd them might have their service being men, which now for better entertaynment then colledges can allowe them do serve noble men...

He blamed the exodus not only on the Reformation but also on poor conditions and low wages which had failed to keep in line with inflation. In the absence of a detailed analysis of the migration of church musicians the author's claim cannot be verified. Of the musicians listed in Appendix III, only three boys (Hingeston, William Lawes and Cressett) and possibly one adult (John Farmer) are known to have moved from church to private employment.[75]

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73. Sir J. Harington, Nugae Antiquae, 2 vols (1804), II, 348-51. Salisbury regularly exchanged gifts with Christian IV.

74. Ibl Royal MS 18.B.xix ff. 7-7v

75. See below p. 81. The Earl of Dorset's musician, Robert Baxter, may have received his training in the Chapel Royal (Ashbee, RECM, VI, 163).

## III. CONTRACT OF EMPLOYMENT

Patrons and household musicians were subject to the laws governing master and servant, the origins of which date back to the mid-fourteenth century when statutes were drawn up to regulate the shortage of hired labour and the consequent demand for high wages.[76] After various modifications during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the law was codified in the 1563 Acte towching dyvers Orders for Artificers Laborers Servantes of Husbandrye or Apprentises.[77]

The relationship between master and household servant was contractual, the rights and duties being fixed to a large extent by law.[78] In the cases under review here, it is impossible to establish whether the parties were contracted to each other by written or by parole agreement, both of which were legally binding. The former obtained in the royal household. A musician could not take up a court appointment until he had received a warrant in writing from the monarch granting him a place and setting out the terms of payment and other details.[79] Contracts of employment do not survive for the musicians listed in Appendix III, though the Earl of Dorset requested in a codicil to his will that there might be 'a wryting of contract indented' between his son, Robert Lord Buckhurst, or his next male heir and his musicians in recognition of their skill and loyalty.[80] Nevertheless, it is clear from the conditions of service prevailing in late Elizabethan and early Stuart noble households that the respective roles of master and servant were well established. The patron offered either full-time or part-time employment, remuneration in money and kind, and access to instruments and music. Furthermore, he was obliged to protect his employee and to assist in his advancement both within and beyond private service. In return, the musician agreed to use his

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76. Sir W. Holdsworth, A History of English Law, 17 vols (1903-72), IV, 459-60

77. Statutes of the Realm 1547-1624, 5 Eliz. c. 4

78. Holdsworth, A History of English Law, IV, 463; II, 384

79. Ashbee, RECM, I, x-xii

80. PRO PROB 11/113/1. The codicil is reproduced as Appendix IV. There is no evidence to confirm if such an agreement was drawn up.

skills as performer and teacher, and occasionally undertook non-musical services for his master. Composition appears not to have been a contractual obligation, though several musicians found household employment conducive to their experiments with the latest musical developments.[81]

The legislation governing termination of service was rigorous. According to paragraph IV of the 1563 Acte, a master was obliged to give adequate notice to a servant whom he wished to dismiss in order that the latter might secure alternative employment. Threatened with dismissal in 1591 on the grounds of his 'yll temperide musick', Sir Robert Cecil's employee,Christopher Heybourne,wrote in his defence:[82]

> ...eaven as it is unpossible for to have all the delicate fruts of the Indias, and other partes of the worlde to growe in an English garden, so is it unpossibell to comprehend the variete of musicks pleasors upon an instrument.

Ironically, his master's gardens, under the care of Mountain Jennings and John Tradescant, contained many exotic fruits. But Heybourne's rhetoric must have persuaded Cecil; he remained in his post until at least 1598.

Equally a servant was not allowed to depart from his master's service without his permission, except in extreme circumstances such as non-payment, lack of adequate sustenance or ill treatment.[83] Household musicians were not immune to their master's penury, as Thomas Whythorne discovered in 1557 when his patron,Ambrose Lord Dudley, was forced to reduce the size of his household having 'consumed much of his lady's land and substance' in financing Queen Mary's expedition to St Quentin. Whythorne recorded in his autobiography that in contrast to many of his fellow employees, Dudley neither allowed him to depart nor granted him an annuity. After much supplication, Dudley agreed to release him from

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81. For a comparable view in other branches of musical service see W. Elders, Composers of the Low Countries (Oxford, 1991), 127 and R. Bowers, ''Obligation, Agency, and Laissez-faire: the Promotion of Polyphonic Composition for the Church in Fifteenth-Century England', Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts, ed. I. Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), 1-19

82. Ibl Landsdowne MS 99 f. 157

83. B.H. Putnam, The Enforcement of the Statute of Labourers (New York, 1908), 193

service.[84] None of the adult musicians listed in Appendix III is known to have quitted his place of employment without his master's consent, even though a few like Whythorne suffered financial hardship in the course of their service owing to their patron's unwillingness or inability to pay a regular salary.

Upon termination of a contract it was imperative for a servant to obtain a testimonial granting permission to depart from his master's service. Legally, those without a testimonial could not be hired by another employer. They were classed as vagabonds and as such were liable to imprisonment in addition to substantial fines.[85] The sources pertaining to resident musicians are vague on this point of law. In a letter regarding Thomas Cutting's appointment to the court of Christian IV of Denmark, Lady Arbella Stuart confirmed that she would licence her servant to depart. However, it is not clear from the wording if Cutting was given written as well as oral permission.[86] Dorset's will contains the same ambiguity. Each of his musicians was 'at libertie to departe to serve els where or to followe any other honest trade of life that shalbe most to his liking.' Verbal assent may have been adequate where a servant's former employment could be verified without too much difficulty.

In addition to observing the standard terms of their employment contract, resident servants were obliged to respect the ordinances drawn up by their master to ensure the smooth day-to-day running of the household. These were in effect 'reforming documents', thus it is impossible to estimate how far the ideal standards of household management were attainable in practice. Ordinances were to some extent legally binding but they did not carry the same force in law as the 1563 Acte.[87]

Several ordinances survive from the late sixteenth and early

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84. Osborn, The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne, 85-86

85. Statutes of the Realm 1547-1624, 5 Eliz. c. 4 sections VII-VIII

86. Lbl Harl. MS 7003 f. 37v

87. Mertes, The English Noble Household, 6-7

seventeenth centuries which tend on the whole to be formulaic.[88] Servants were obliged to respect their position within the hierarchical structure of the noble household so that 'due difference [may be] had betweene gentlemen, yeomen and groomes, both at home in his lordship's house, and abroade in their waiteringe and following their lordships'.[89] Ordinances regularly castigated servants' unruly behaviour. In a fit of exasperation Richard Isaack, steward to the Earl of Middlesex, described his master's house as 'the most disordered...of any noble man in Ingland'. The 7th Earl of Derby particularly drew attention to the fact that next to a puritan or jesuit, musicians were 'very troublesome... neither going to bed in silence nor getting up quietly'.[90] Arguing and swearing were forbidden as were dicing, gaming and the frequenting of alehouses. Those who failed to observe the rules of social behaviour were reprehended by the steward or chaplain. Despite public acknowledgement of the master's authority, more serious offences were punishable by law.[91] All servants were expected to attend daily service whether their master was in residence or not, and only those with a valid excuse were permitted to be absent. Servants who lodged within the household were forbidden to stay out late or to lodge elsewhere. No one could be absent from his post without prior permission, and in most cases it was imperative for a substitute to be found. As with apprentices, masters often required their ordinary servants to remain single because of the financial burden involved in feeding, clothing and lodging a wife and offspring. Moreover, even in the Jacobean period households tended to be male-dominated communities in which the majority of resident servants slept communally.[92]

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88. Fathers occasionally prepared their sons for household management by offering advice on the difficulties encountered; see, for example, the 7th Earl of Derby's advice (Raines, 'The Stanley Papers, part iii, vol. iii,', 34-36).

89. Mertes, The English Noble Household, 18; J. Nichols, 'West Goscote Hundred', The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester, 3/2 (1804), 597

90. KAO U269/E294; Raines, 'The Stanley Papers, pt iii, vol. iii', 46

91. Mertes, The English Noble Household, 176-78

92. See, for example, Nichols, 'West Goscote Hundred', 594

## IV. CONDITIONS OF SERVICE

### 1. Wages

According to the legislation set down in paragraph XI of the 1563 Acte, levels of pay for various classes of employees were to be set annually by the justices of the peace in response to variations in the rate of inflation. Guidelines were included concerning the weekly pay due to labourers and artisans, but the legislation was vague with regard to the setting of rates for household servants. An employment contract was declared void if a master paid wages contrary to the Acte. Paragraph XIII stated that no one was to give or receive a higher wage than was customary for a particular service, and those who contravened the law were liable to punishment, be it master or servant. Household retainers are known to have been prosecuted for receiving wages in excess of the accepted amount.[93]

The 1563 Acte does not specify the rates of pay due to household servants, though according to one contemporary writer, musicians willingly 'betake themselves to the service of Gentlemen for...4 or 5 pounds a yeare'. Woodfill concluded on the basis of his own research that this assessment was accurate, but it is evident from Table 3.4 that wages ranged from as little as £2 to £26 13s 4d per annum.[94]

The concentration of individuals for the years 1606 to 1615 should not be interpreted as a general rising trend towards a greater number of musicians entering private service during the first half of the Jacobean period than had previously been the case. This pattern is due instead to the survival of documentary evidence, principally from the households of the earls of Cumberland, Devonshire, Dorset and Salisbury. For example, Dorset and Salisbury are known to have

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93. Holdsworth, A History of English Law, IV, 460; Statutes of the Realm 1547-1624, 5 Eliz. c. 4 section XIII; Putnam, The Enforcement of the Statute of Labourers, 89

94. Lbl Royal MS 18.B.xix f. 6; Musicians in English Society, 68. Wages were expressed in terms of the mark, worth 13s 4d, and the more popular pound sterling, worth 20s, neither of which was represented by an actual coin struck at the mint (C.E. Challis, The Tudor Coinage (Manchester, 1978), 199). Those coins which did exist were fractions of the two principal units of account. The greater number of musicians listed in Table 3.4 were paid in multiples of pound sterling. Those who received salaries worth £6 13s 4d, £13 6s 8d, and £26 13s 4d were in effect paid at the rate of ten, twenty and forty marks a year.

Table 3.4 Annual salaries paid to household musicians

| Musician | Patron | <1590 | 1591-1595 | 1596-1600 | 1601-1605 | 1606-1610 | 1611-1615 | 1616-1620 | 1621-1625 | 1626-1630 | 1631-1635 | 1636-1640 | >1640 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Edward Cressett | Cumberland | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | £12 | - | - | - | - |
| John Harsden | Cumberland | - | - | - | - | - | £10-13.6.8 | £13.6.8-£20 annuity | £20 | [£20] | £20 | £20 | £20 |
| George Mason | Cumberland | - | - | - | - | £6.13.4 | £6.13.4 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| William Hudson | Cumberland | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | ? £6.13.4 | £6.13.4 | £6.13.4 |
| Charles Pendrie | Cumberland | - | - | - | - | £5 | £5-13.6.8 | £13.6.8-£10 annuity | - | - | - | - | - |
| Arthur Wyatt | Cumberland | - | - | - | - | £4 | £5 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Thomas Cutting | Devonshire | - | - | - | - | - | £22 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Robert Dowland | Devonshire | - | - | - | - | - | £10 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Leues Fleuron | Devonshire | - | - | - | - | - | £10 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Ham | Devonshire | - | - | - | £10 | £10 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Mr Hewett | Devonshire | - | - | - | - | £8 | £8-10 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| M. Lambert | Devonshire | - | - | £6 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Mr Molsoe | Devonshire | - | - | - | - | - | £20 | £20-23.6.8-£26.13.4 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Mr Pierce | Devonshire | - | - | - | - | - | £10 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Bonadventure Ashby | Dorset | - | - | - | - | £20 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Robert Baxter | Dorset | - | - | - | - | £20 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Christopher Beauforest | Dorset | - | - | - | - | £20 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| William Frigozi | Dorset | - | - | - | - | £20 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Arthur Gill | Dorset | - | - | - | - | £20 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Baptist Larkin | Dorset | - | - | - | - | £20 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Horatio Lupo | Dorset | - | - | - | - | £20 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| John Myners | Dorset | - | - | - | - | £20 annuity | £20 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| William Symmes | Dorset | - | - | - | - | £20 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Henry Webb | Dorset | - | - | - | - | £20 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Thomas White | Dorset | - | - | - | - | £20 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Jonas Wrench | Dorset | - | - | - | - | £20 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Henry Lawes | Dorset | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | £20 | - | - | - | - |

Table 3.4 contd./

| Musician | Patron | <1590 | 1591-1595 | 1596-1600 | 1601-1605 | 1606-1610 | 1611-1615 | 1616-1620 | 1621-1625 | 1628-1630 | 1631-1635 | 1636-1640 | >1640 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Robert Hunne | Pembroke | £3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Nynnion Gibbion | Rutland | - | - | - | - | - | £2 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Andrew Markes | Rutland | - | - | - | - | £10 | £10-20 annuity | £20 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Christian Crusse | Salisbury | - | - | - | - | £20 | £20 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| William Frost | Salisbury | - | - | - | - | £20 | £20 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Raiph Jackson | Salisbury | - | - | - | - | - | £20 annuity | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Nicholas Lanier | Salisbury | - | - | - | - | £20 | £20 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Henry Oxford | Salisbury | - | - | - | - | £20 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Matthew Johnson | Salisbury | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | £20 | - | - | - |
| Martin Otto | Shrewsbury | - | - | - | £20 | £20 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Thomas Smyth | Shrewsbury | - | - | - | - | £10 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |

maintained a resident band during the Elizabethan period, but the financial records pertaining to the administration of their respective households no longer survive. Likewise, the falling off in numbers from about 1620 does not imply a decline in private musical patronage, but rather a paucity of archival evidence.

Economic historians have estimated that craftsmen's wages doubled under the Tudors, from 6d a day during Henry VIII's reign to 12d by 1580. Musicians in private service appear to have benefitted from a comparable, if not greater, increase in wages over approximately the same period. Under the early Tudors it was customary for household musicians to be paid between two and six marks per annum (£1 6s 8d-£4). The 5th Earl of Northumberland's minstrels were paid at this rate during the years c. 1509-1525. Likewise, in the mid-sixteenth century Sir William Cavendish (father of the Earl of Devonshire) and Denzil Holles rewarded their servants between two and four marks per annum (£1 6s 8d-£2 13s 4d).[95] By the Jacobean period more than three-quarters of the musicians listed in Table 3.4 received annual payments of between 15 and forty marks (£10-£26 13s 4d). Only Nynnion Gibbion, trumpeter to the 5th Earl of Rutland, was paid at the Tudor rates which may reflect the limited scope of his duties.

Salaries of manual workers remained stable between 1580 and 1630, thereafter increasing by 33 1/3% to 16d a day by 1642, despite the crippling rise in inflation towards the end of the sixteenth century.[96] Four musicians received an increase in wages during the years 1580 to 1630. In 1615 Earsden and Pendrie's stipends were raised from £10 and £5 each to £13 6s 8d, an increase of 33 1/3% and 166 2/3% respectively. Within fourteen years Earsden received a further rise of 50%, taking his wages to £20. Likewise, between 1616 and 1620 Molsoe's salary rose twice from £20 to £26 13s 4d. Myners and Markes were granted a wage increase by their dying patron. Dorset raised Myners's stipend by 33 1/3% in 1608 (from £20 to £26 13s 4d). Four years later Rutland stipulated in his will that Markes's salary was to be doubled (from £10 to £20). However, one cannot conclude on the basis of these isolated

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95. NHB, 48; Hardwick MS 1 f. 50; Nottingham University Library (NUL), Portland MS PwV5 p. 67

96. H.P. Brown and S.V. Hopkins, A Perspective of Wages and Prices (1981), 4, 8

examples that domestic musicians benefitted from a general rise in wages during the course of the early Stuart period, though within some other branches of the profession musicians did enjoy a comparable pay increase. For example, the salary of the London waits rose from £6 in 1540 to £20 shortly after James's accession. But musicians elsewhere were not so fortunate. According to one contemporary observer, choral singers were paid at the same rate in 1603 as at the Reformation.[97] Furthermore, the wages paid to royal servants were not adjusted to keep in line with inflation; however, compared with other musicians, court employees tended on the whole to enjoy a higher standard of living, particularly if they supplemented their income through plurality of office. For instance, the Lanier brothers received £20 a year for teaching and maintaining each of Salisbury's apprentices in addition to their regular salary from the King's Musick. Even so, household servants were relatively well off due to the perquisites of clothing, board and lodging in addition to their stipend.[98]

Comparing the figures contained in Table 3.4 with the stipends paid to other household employees, Pendrie, for example, at £5 per annum received the same wage as a coachman. However, by 1615 his salary exceeded that of the cook and gentleman of the chamber, who were paid £10. The permanent members of Salisbury's band received a level of pay enjoyed by only his most senior retainers. Likewise, the majority of Shrewsbury's household staff were paid between £1 and £6 per annum, but Otto habitually received £20. Musicians' stipends were therefore not a reflection of social standing. Amateurs received a wage commensurate with their non-musical duties, but they were occasionally granted additional rewards for singing and playing, as in the case of Lady Shrewsbury's servants Good, Abrahall, Parker and Starkey.

The rate of pay enjoyed by musicians did not depend on the size of the master's household, his financial position, or his rank. Prior to receiving an earldom, William Baron Cavendish paid the considerable

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97. Lasocki, 'Professional Recorder Players in England', I, 123; Woodfill, Musicians in English Society, 242. The anonymous author of Lbl Royal MS 18.B.xix claimed that singing men 'do lyve lyke miserable beggers' and that labourers were paid twice as well (ff. 16-16v).

98. Musicians working on a part-time basis were not entitled to clothing, board and lodging, though a few did enjoy such privileges (see below, p. 74).

sums of £22 and £26 13s 4d respectively to his lutenists, Thomas Cutting and Mr Molsoe, which compares with the scale of £5-£13 6s 8d paid by the 4th Earl of Cumberland, whose family had been raised to the peerage under Henry VIII. Ironically, between 1615 and 1618 Cumberland increased Earsden and Pendrie's wages despite his worsening financial position.[99]

Musicians employed within a single household were sometimes paid at different rates. For instance, between 1610 and 1612 Cumberland paid Mason £1 13s 4d more than Pendrie and Wyatt, and in 1614 Cutting, Molsoe and Pierce received £22, £20 and £10 respectively from their patron, Baron Cavendish. Furthermore, even though Myners received the same wage as the other members of Dorset's band, his salary alone was assured for life in recognition of his skill. Wages may reflect the existence of an hierarchical structure within domestic bands. Mason was an accomplished composer and Cutting was regarded by his contemporaries as a skilled lutenist. Similar anomalies occur among the stipends granted to court musicians who to all intents and purposes served in comparable offices. Lasocki has attributed this fact to the monarch's 'caprice'.[100] Whether or not private patrons were as fickle as the crown is impossible to say, though the variation in wages from one household to another suggests that rates were struck at the master's discretion rather than adhering to any guiding principle on the subject.

The vagaries of early modern book-keeping and the limited survival of records account for the discrepancy between the number of household musicians in full-time service and those in receipt of a regular salary. Of the archives examined, the Clifford papers represent the largest and most complete collection of steward's accounts for the period. But for the majority of households only random bills and accounts survive, and in some instances these represent nothing more than annual or five-yearly 'views'. At the end of the financial year household and estate accounts were audited and a statement of receipts and disbursements prepared which gave an approximate overview of the

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99. M. Butler, 'A Provincial Masque of Comus, 1636', Renaissance Drama, new series 17 (1986), 149-73, see esp. pp. 151-53

100. Lasocki, 'Professional Recorder Players in England', I, 121

master's financial position.[101] Such accounts contain only the aggregate sum paid to household staff. Where steward's accounts do survive, musicians are sometimes omitted from the quarterly wages' lists because they were granted an annuity instead of a quarterly wage, or they were paid in arrears.

Annuities were granted for a term of years or for life and were chargeable primarily on the grantor's person and his heirs if named.[102] Of the musicians listed in Appendix III, at least fifteen received or were promised a life annuity by their respective patrons, all of which were granted in lieu of rather than in addition to quarterly wages:

**Table 3.5 Annuities paid to musicians in private service**

| Musician | Patron | Value of Annuity |
|---|---|---|
| Charles Pendrie | Cumberland | £10 |
| John Earsden | Cumberland[103] | £20 |
| Andrew Markes | Rutland | £20 |
| John Myners | Dorset | £20 + £6 13s 4d |
| Bonadventure Ashby | Dorset | £20 or £5 |
| Robert Baxter | Dorset | £20 or £5 |
| Christopher Beauforest | Dorset | £20 or £5 |
| William Frigozi | Dorset | £20 or £5 |
| Arthur Gill | Dorset | £20 or £5 |
| Baptist Larkin | Dorset | £20 or £5 |
| Horatio Lupo | Dorset | £20 or £5 |
| Henry Webb | Dorset | £20 or £5 |
| Thomas White | Dorset | £20 or £5 |
| Jonas Wrench | Dorset | £20 or £5 |
| Raiph Jackson[104] | Salisbury | £20 |

101. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 284

102. Annuity can also mean a yearly allowance and some accounts are ambiguous in their use of the term. For example, 'annuity' and wage' are used interchangeably in the accounts and bills of payment made to Salisbury's servants (Salisbury MSS bills 14, 33, 46, 57; accounts 160/1 ff. 36v-37). There are no examples of an annuity granted in perpetuity to a household musician.

103. John Hingeston never received a quarterly wage during his twenty-five years of service to the Clifford family, though he was given £10 'for his use' in November 1642 which was originally due to Earsden (Bolton MSS book 240). It is possible therefore that Hingeston was granted an annuity out of the family estates.

104. Jackson's occupation is not stated in the Salisbury manuscripts, but the level of his annual income plus his connection with Nicholas Lanier suggest that he may have been a musician

The household steward was responsible for paying servants' wages but annuities, unlike quarterly wages, were not automatically entered in his accounts. The former could be paid out of the revenue from a particular estate, the sum of the annuity being deducted at source and only the remainder entered in the receiver general's account of land receipts. For example, Myners's name is excluded from the payments made to Dorset's musicians in the 1607-08 household accounts. His salary must have been paid directly out of the earl's estate income, the source of which may have been the same as that set aside to provide for the other members of Dorset's band after his death, namely the 'lands, tenementes and hereditamentes scituat, lying and beyng in the rape of Lewes within the countie of Sussex'.[105]

Annuities were usually awarded in recognition of long and faithful service. I.M. observed in A Health to the Gentlemanly Profession of Servingmen (1598):[106]

> Some [noblemen] would give their Servantes an Annuitie or yeerely portion of Money, duering their naturall lyves...to the ende, that when their service coulde not merite mayntenance in respect of their yeeres and unwealdines, consideerying they had reaped the fyrst fruites of their Benefice, even the sommer of their yeeres, this their benevolence should maynteyne these their Servantes from worldly pennurie to their last houre.

Myners received his annuity on the grounds that Dorset 'esteeme[d] [him] one of the most sufficient musicions' of his band. Pendrie and Earsden were granted annuities after eight and fifteen years of adult service respectively. In contrast, Thomas Whythorne persuaded Ambrose Lord Dudley to award him a yearly payment for life after only one year's service.[107] The remaining twelve annuities listed in Table 3.5 were bequeathed to their recipients by a dying patron. Dorset devised a complex scheme whereby each member of his band who remained in office

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(Salisbury MSS accounts 128/1).

105. KAO U269/A1/1; Appendix IV. From 1652 Earsden's annuity was paid for out of the rents of Halton and Draughton, North Yorkshire, close to Skipton Castle (Bolton MSS uncatalogued).

106. Inedited Tracts, ed. W.C. Hazlitt (Roxburghe Club, 1868), 118

107. Bolton MSS book 98 f. 109; YAS DD121/36/B1; Osborn, The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne, 85. According to Aubrey, the royal musician Alfonso Ferrabosco II received a pension from the 1st Earl of Montgomery (The Natural History of Wiltshire, 88).

after his death would be given a life annuity worth £20. Myners was promised an additional £6 13s 4d if he continued to serve the Sackville family, otherwise he would receive only the original sum of £20 for life. The musicians whom Dorset's heir did not employ were offered compensation of £5 per annum for life while those who were unwilling to remain in service forfeited the chance of receiving any annuity.

On the whole heirs respected the testator's wishes with regard to the maintenance of old retainers. Earsden's annuity was honoured both by Cumberland's son, Henry Lord Clifford, and by his granddaughter, Elizabeth, Countess of Cork, who inherited the family estate in 1641 and 1643 respectively. Earsden continued to receive the sum of £20 a year until at least 1658, despite the financial hardship which his patroness suffered due to the ravages of war and the loss of much of her family inheritance.[108]

Annuities, like wages, varied from one household to another and were not always equivalent in value to a musician's annual salary. Pendrie's annuity at £10 fell £3 6s 8d short of the income which he received between 1615 and 1618. All of Dorset's musicians, with the exception of Myners, were promised annuities worth the value of their wages. Markes was granted an annuity double the salary which he had received prior to the 5th Earl of Rutland's death.[109]

Household servants were normally paid at quarterly intervals, using the traditional quarter-days employed by the Exchequer, 25 March (the Annunciation), 24 June (the nativity of St John the Baptist), 29 September (Michaelmas) and Christmas. Salisbury paid his musicians regularly and promptly in the belief that they 'shall ever be void of excuse upon any breach of duty'.[110] It was not unusual though for servants in private households to be paid from one month to three years

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108. Bolton MSS book 180; book 240; book 197 f. [13]; book 198 f. 34v; book 202 f. 18; book 205 pp. 23, 27; book 276 pp. 36, 40; book 277 pp. 33, 36; book 207; see Appendix IX

109. PRO PROB 11/120/64

110. 'The humble answer and advice of his Majesty's council upon certain propositions , a Collection of Several Speeches and Treatises of the late Lord Treasurer Cecil and of Several Observations of the Lords of the Council Given to King James Concerning his Estate and Revenue in the Years 1608, 1609 and 1610', ed. P. Croft, Camden Miscellany, 29, Camden Society, 4th series 34 (1987), 273-318, see esp. p. 304

in arrears. Many patrons derived their wealth from extensive landholdings but lacked the ready cash with which to discharge their debts. Coinage was often in short supply. Rents due twice yearly to the estate bailiff could be difficult to collect from scattered tenants. Once paid, such cash reserves were occasionally retained by the bailiff to increase his own income by offering short-term loans at high interest rates. Therefore anything up to twelve months might elapse before rental income eventually reached the hands of the receiver general who was responsible for funding his master's household.[111]

In his will, Dorset stipulated that a contract drawn up between the members of his band and his son or next heir male must contain a 'clause of distresse for non payment'.[112] Each musician was therefore entitled by law to seize goods from the earl's estate to the value of his overdue wages should Dorset's heir fail to pay his annuity. Otto was forced to exercise his right to distrain. At the time of his departure from Shrewsbury's household shortly before March 1608, Otto's wages (amounting to between £50-£60) were almost three years in arrears:[113]

> I muste humblie crave of your ho'rs to consider of this my poore estate & to assist me especially with these two helpes. The one: that I maye practyse my qualytie about the Cowrt & to that end it may please your ho'rs to bestowe the chyste of vyalls on me. The other, to helpe me to ease my charge in bestowing a bedde on me with convenyent furnyture. Bothe these in parte of payment of my wages & the remaynder in present money if it maye be possible or els in whatsoever, to repayer my wantes & mayntayne my credite.

Otto's petition met with limited success. Shrewsbury refused to part with the chest of viols and failed to reach a decision over the matter of the bed, but Lady Shrewsbury promised to pay Otto if he returned to Sheffield.[114] This was not the first occasion on which he had sought compensation for non-payment. Three years previously he had received four tons of iron, valued at £12 per ton, in lieu of wages which by

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111. Mertes, The English Noble Household, 94-95; Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 286, 506

112. Appendix IV

113. Lambeth PL MS 708 ff. 57, 196

114. Lambeth PL MS 708 f. 198

then were two and a half years overdue.[115]

The 7th Earl of Derby advised his son to reward gifts to household servants in addition to their regular salary on the grounds that 'when you give to a good Man, because he is good, it is like to keepe him good, & it may make others good.'[116] It was customary for wages paid to employees in noble and royal service to be supplemented with gifts and Christmas and holiday bonuses, particularly on 1 January.[117] Despite his reputation for penny-pinching, Sir William Cavendish celebrated the new year by rewarding a number of servants. Thomas Banes, his children's singing master, annually received an additional 5s, while in January 1599 Starkey was given a 'new yers gift [of] a spurr viol' worth 15s.[118] Some patrons also acknowledged the diligent service of their employees through the giving of bequests. The life annuities granted by the earls of Dorset and Rutland fall into this category. Andrew Markes and the singing boy William Molins also received gifts

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115. ibid. Shrewsbury's income from his estates was substantial yet both he and his wife were notorious for not paying their debts. For example, in February 1611 Sir Charles Cavendish I complained to Shrewsbury's steward that the earl's servants had neither clothes nor money. Like many noblemen, he was at times short of ready cash and was forced to raise considerable short-term loans from London merchants. Nevertheless, he continued to make substantial land purchases and was extravagant in his hospitality (Lambeth PL MS 694 f. 90; G.R. Batho, 'Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury (1553-1616): the "great and glorious Earl"?', Derbyshire Archaeological Journal, 93 (1975), 23-32). Due to the many payments made in arrears, it has been impossible to determine with any degree of certainty the annual wages of William Hudson, violinist to the 4th Earl of Cumberland (see, for example, Bolton MSS book 176, f. 72v; book 179, entries dated 25 September and 18 October 1641).

116. Raines, 'The Stanley Papers, part iii, vol. iii', 36

117. Mertes, The English Noble Household, 68; Lasocki, 'Professional Recorder Players in England', I, 127

118. Hardwick MSS 10A and 10B. The 5th Earl of Northumberland rewarded 23s 4d each new year to his minstrels (NHB, 331-32). Occasionally it is difficult to determine if such bonuses were intended for household musicians or for itinerants hired to perform on festive occasions. For example, on 1 January 1633/4 the Cliffords paid 20s 'to the musitions', but it is not clear if this money was given to the waits of York who were in attendance during the whole of the Christmas festivities or to the earl's resident musicians (Bolton MSS book 172, ff. 31v, 77).

of £20 and £2 respectively from their masters.[119]

**2. Board and lodgings**

By the late Elizabethan period the master and his family had retired into private chambers to eat dinner and supper, but most household servants continued to eat in the body of the hall. Communal dining was considered one means of cementing relations within the household community. Gentleman servants and visitors ate at the steward's table, servers, waiters and carvers sat with the clerk of the kitchen and the remaining staff occupied the lowest table.[120] R.B. noted that 'in some howses [musicians] are allowed a messe of meate into their chambers, in other howses they eate with waiters.'[121] The location in which they dined reflected their status, though examples do survive of musicians sitting with officers of higher rank or even members of the family. Whythorne, for instance, noted of one family that 'they did not only allow me to sit at their table but also at their own mess, as long as there were not any to occupy the room and place that were a great deal my betters.'[122] Circumstances occasionally dictated that household servants receive boardwages in lieu of food from their master's kitchen. For instance, in 1614 and 1616 the Cliffords' lodgings in London were inadequate to feed all of their retinue, and some employees including their musicians received 10s per week to keep themselves in victuals.[123]

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119. PRO PROB 11/120/64; PROB 11/142/93

120. Mertes, The English Noble Household, 179-80; see Chapter 7, p. 182; D.N. Durant, Living in the Past: An Insider's Social History of Historic Houses (1988), 40. At Tawstock in Devon the 5th Earl of Bath's servants, most of whom sat at the long board, received beef porridge, two pieces of beef, tripe and three loaves of bread at dinner, and porridge and two joints of mutton at supper (KAO U269/E294).

121. Ibl Add. MS 29262 f. 14v

122. Osborn, The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne, 94. Writing to his brother the Earl of Hertford on 22 March 1581/2, Henry Seymour noted, 'It seems that our good syster should norishe Smith, the minstrell...he told my nevew Beauchamp that his aunt did make so much of him, he alleges, that she did not stick to set him at her owne table at dinner' (Seymour papers vol. v f. 124).

123. Bolton MSS book 95 ff. 260, 261v-62, 264; book 96 f. 152v-54v

A relatively high percentage of household servants lodged within their master's property. The allocation of sleeping quarters depended on social status with only the most senior officers being given their own rooms. Servants of lower rank, namely yeomen and grooms, were usually obliged to sleep communally.[124] The majority of adult musicians resident in noble households probably shared accommodation. According to a list 'of the names of servants who lie together, & those who have single beds and in what chambers' compiled by Rachel, Countess of Bath some time after 1639, Richard Cobb shared a bed in chamber no. 11 with Thomas Wyott, a servant of comparable social status.[125] At Apethorpe the Earl of Westmorland's musicians slept in the music chamber on one field bed, one pallet bed and two feather beds.[126]

However, at least six of the musicians included in Appendix III enjoyed the perquisite of a single room: Cutting and Molsoe (Aldersgate Street, London), Earsden, Hudson and Hingeston (Skipton Castle) and Wilbye (Hengrave, Suffolk).[127] Earsden's room was particularly well-furnished owing to his position as gentleman servant:

> 4 peeces of hangings, 1 bed stead, velvet teaster & vallance embrodred with gold with ye armes of ye howse, 1 canvass matterass, 1 table, 1 carpett, stooles & chaires, 1 range, 1 fether bed, 1 bolster.

Domestic servants also lodged outside their master's house, waiting in daily attendance upon the nobleman and his family. William Damon, for example, lived in the parish of St James, Garlickhithe during his

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124. M. Girouard, Life in the English Country House (Harmondsworth, 1980), 55-56; Mertes, The English Noble Household, 57-58, 68. During the Elizabethan period lower servants slept in passages and outside chamber doors on folding beds, or on the floor of the hall (Durant, Living in the Past, 53).

125. KAO U269/E294

126. NRO W(A) Box 6 parcel v misc. nos 1-2

127. Hardwick MS 29 p. 317 and MS 26; Bolton MSS G/8 and 9, book 179; Fellowes, 'John Wilbye', ix; Cambridge University Library (CUL) Hengrave MSS 84-85. The 5th Earl of Huntingdon's servant, George Clark, had a chamber at Donington House, Leicestershire in which was stored a 'chest of the musicians'; however, it is not known if Clark served in a musical capacity (HL Hastings MSS inventories box 1, folder 13 f. 15v and folder 19). Several other musicians resided with their patrons, including John Attey, Thomas Vautor and Martin Otto, but details of their accommodation no longer survive.

employment at Sackville House in Fleet Street.[128] According to his will, Dorset's musicians were entitled to 'meate drincke and lodging in such convenyent sorte as ys fitt for servauntes to have.'[129] At least one member of the band lodged in property belonging to the earl. Between October 1607 and April 1608 Thomas White rented a house in Fleet Street at a cost of £10 per annum.[130]

A handful of professional musicians employed on a part-time basis received accommodation in private households which they can have occupied only on an occasional basis. In addition to his property at Stondon in Essex, William Byrd was given a lodging in the 4th Earl of Worcester's house on the Strand, the contents of which he bequeathed to his son.[131] Ferrabosco II also received accommodation from two Jacobean courtiers. He is reputed to have lived on the Earl of Hertford's Wiltshire estates, possibly at the same time as Coprario, and had lodgings in Baynard's Castle, the Herberts' London property located on the river Thames to the east of Blackfriars.[132]

### 3. Livery

Throughout the medieval and early modern periods domestic servants traditionally wore livery. To distinguish between household employees of different ranks it was common for gentleman servants and senior officers to wear a livery cloak bearing the family coat-of-arms while servants of yeoman rank and under also wore a coat to match their cloak.[133] The wearing of a patron's badge or colours was not considered a mark of servitude but one of privilege. Liveried servants were also a

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128. Lasocki, 'Professional Recorder Players in England', I, 169; II, 694

129. Appendix IV

130. KAO U269/A1/1. John Myners may also have rented property from the Sackville family (PRO PROB 11/125/23).

131. PRO PROB 11/142/106

132. Aubrey, Natural History of Wiltshire, 80-81, 88; C.L. Kingsford, 'Historical Notes on Medieval London Houses', London Topographical Record, 10 (1916), 44-144, see esp. pp. 62-63. Coprario's lodgings for the half year to December 1607 were financed by the Earl of Salisbury (Salisbury MSS bills 33).

133. Durant, Living in the Past, 94

conspicuous example of their master's wealth and status.[134] However, by the early Stuart period diverging opinions existed among the nobility with regard to this practice. In the late 1640s the 7th Earl of Derby recommended to his son, 'I would wish that all, who are under the Yeomen, be in livery; whether they be your own fee'd Men, or that they belong to the Gentry in your House.' Yet over thirty years earlier the 5th Earl of Huntingdon commented, 'I need not speak of giving of coats, for that ancient and honourable fashion is clean out of use at this day, and to give cloaks is not so handsome.'[135]

Court musicians were obliged to wear livery for which they each received an annual payment of £16 2s 6d to buy a gown, jacket and doublet. It is not clear from the surviving records if the same holds true for musicians serving in private households. Cloaks were purchased on behalf of adult musicians and apprentices employed by the earls of Devonshire, Rutland, Cumberland and Salisbury which suggest that livery was compulsory for their servants, though patrons also provided general clothing.[136]

4. Protection

Household servants enjoyed security of tenure during their master's lifetime, but they were precariously placed after his death. As stated in Chapter 2, an heir was not obliged to retain the deceased's employees, though the 3rd Earl of Bath recorded in his will that following his demise all of his ordinary servants would be assured employment on the Tawstock estate.[137] Salisbury could not offer the same guarantee:[138]

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134. Mertes, The English Noble Household, 68; Girouard, Life in the English Country House, 16. The laws restricting the wearing of livery did not extend to household members (Mertes, ibid., 132).

135. Raines, 'The Stanley Papers, part iii, vol. iii', 35; HMC Hastings, IV, 334

136. Hardwick MSS 10A, 23 and 29 p. 268; HMC Rutland, I, 267, IV, 474; Bolton MSS misc. accounts, book 161, book 94 f. 42v; Salisbury MSS accounts 160/1 f. 36, box H/6

137. Mertes, The English Noble Household 67, 73; PRO PROB 11/142/93

138. PRO PROB 11/119/49

> ... for the rest of my servantes who are manie serviceable and none unhonest I can but leave them to their owne waies as in such cases when such a familie dissolves. But do wish myne executors by the direccion and advise of myne overseers to give them intertaynement for such reasonable tyme (as is usuall in like cases) wherin they may consider how and where to bestowe themselves not doubting but many of them shall receive maintenance in the service of my sonne...

Nicholas Lanier and Henry Oxford were briefly retained by the 2nd Earl.[139] Servants forced to seek alternative employment were often compensated with up to three months' board and lodging and/or a sum of money. The 4th Earl of Derby's servants continued to receive their annual salary until they secured another post.[140] Dorset's musicians were promised a life annuity of £5.[141]

On the whole patrons were attentive to the needs of their servants in times of illness. Between January and April 1637 John Hingeston required medical attention. A Polish doctor and an apothecary were sent for at a cost of £2 13s 4d to diagnose and cure his illness.[142] For casual servants or labourers employed on a daily or weekly basis, sickness meant loss of income, but resident household servants were entitled to the benefits of pay, board and lodging during periods of illness.[143] It is impossible to determine from the surviving records whether or not a master was responsible for the maintenance of relatives of an employee who died in service. The 5th Earl of Cumberland, for example, ensured that wages in arrears were paid to

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139. Andrew Markes served both the 5th Earl of Rutland and his brother Francis who succeeded to the title in 1612. The lutenist Francis Cutting may have been employed by Philip, Earl of Arundel and his relative, Sir Thomas Howard, who later became Earl of Suffolk (Hulse, 'Francis and Thomas Cutting: father and son?' 73). In 1628 John Wilbye moved from the Kytson household at Hengrave to the Colchester estate of his patron's daughter, Mary, Countess Rivers.

140. PRO PROB 11/84/66

141. Appendix IV. The servants not retained by Robert, 2nd Earl of Dorset were given one year's wages, meat, drink and lodging for up to three months in addition to the salary owing to them at his death (PRO PROB 11/113/23).

142. Bolton MSS book 175 f. 26v; book 176 f. 26v. Salisbury paid 40s to one Hopkins who cured Crusse of his deafness (Salisbury MSS accounts 160/1 f. 36).

143. Appendix IV

William Hudson's wife shortly after the violinist's death, but there are no further payments in the accounts to suggest that the Cliffords continued to support Hudson's widow.[144]

Household service protected musicians from punishment as vagabonds but it did not entitle them to claim immunity from other aspects of the law, though masters could and sometimes did intervene in order to protect their servants from prosecution.[145] In 1608 Henry Oxford was dismissed from service for kidnapping a gentlewoman. Abducting a woman 'of substance' and forcing her to marry against her will was a felony and carried a minimum sentence of two years imprisonment. It was in the abductor's interests to marry as soon as possible for according to common law, the wife's fortune became the husband's property for the duration of their marriage.[146] However, it would appear from the available evidence concerning Oxford's crime that the abduction had actually been an elopement. Sir Michael Hickes who agreed to intercede on Oxford's behalf, noted in a letter to Salisbury:[147]

> ...that which is done cannot be undone, but both are undone if your L' take not compassion, if not of him, yett of hir, who otherwise shall repent at leisure hir rash love purchased so high a rate...

Dismissal from the household of England's leading statesman precluded employment in any other gentleman's service; therefore Oxford was obliged to secure Salisbury's forgiveness and to regain his protection. Hickes did not condone the crime but hoped that Oxford's 'young yeares, and greene head' might excuse the offence. He appealed to Salisbury's love of music and commended Oxford's musical skill which far outweighed his 'unadvised rashnes'.[148] But the earl retorted:[149]

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144. Bolton MSS book 181, entry dated 30 September 1643

145. Osborn, The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne, 233-34, 244

146. E.W. Ives, '"Agaynst taking awaye of Women": the Inception and Operation of the Abduction Act of 1487', Wealth and Power of Tudor England, eds E.W. Ives, R.J. Knecht & J.J. Scarisbrick, Essays presented to S.T. Bindoff (1978), 21-44

147. Ibl Landsdowne MS 90 f. 178; Salisbury MSS vol. 125/111

148. John Davies's epigram 'To the generous Maister in Musicke, Mr Oxford' may be addressed to Salisbury's musician: 'Not for thy Person, nor Parts musicall/ Do I applaud thee (though all pleasing bee)/ But for the small esteeme thou makst of all;/For which Ile stretch my lines

> I can judge it fitter for me to quitt my love of musique, which pleaseth myne eare than to protect leudness in this kind...I hate the fact so much to steale away any mans childe as I am sorrye it is not death by the lawe seing he that cutts my purse with fourteene pence shalbe hanged...if now I favor him, it will both confirme in the world (as it doth in me) that he would not have offered it; but in hope of my protection to beare him out: in which I will deceave whosoever shall most believe it.

Despite his initial response, Salisbury may have used his position as secretary to the Council of State and master of the Court of Wards to protect Oxford for the musician was reinstated in the earl's band a few months later.[150]

### 5. Advancement within and beyond private service

Theoretically, household employment offered servants of all ranks the possibility of advancement both in terms of increased financial remuneration and social status.[151] A musical apprentice on completion of his indenture was promoted to the rank of paid servant either by his master or by another patron. As noted above, some adult musicians were well paid or received an annuity for life in addition to gifts. But the scope for social advancement was limited, senior household offices lying beyond the reach of most domestic musicians.

One of the few means of advancement within private service was to move from a provincial household to the employment of a patron based at court. Otto had been attached to Shrewsbury's retinue for at least fifteen years; but anxious to 'practyse [his] qualytie about the cowrt', he sought his patron's help in 'the procurement of a setled staye' under Thomas Erskine, Viscount Fentoun, Shrewsbury's nephew

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to honor thee./ Some have but Musicke somewhat past the Meane,/ Yet are so treble proud of it, that they/ At no request, will acte in Musickes sceane;/These become bitter with their sweetest play:/But like a free-Spiret (thereby winning Harts)/Thou art not dainty of thy dainty Parts' (The Scourge of Folly (1611), 207).

149. Ibl Landsdowne MS 90 f.143

150. Salisbury MSS accounts 160/1 f. 68v

151. Mertes, The English Noble Household, 71

through marriage.[152] Otto's decision to leave may have been influenced by the high esteem in which Fentoun was held at court. Despite his initial appointment to the office of chief justiceship of Eyre, Shrewsbury did not enjoy James's favour. His support for his niece, Lady Arbella Stuart, and the popish inclinations of his wife hindered any hope of further advancement. Shrewsbury therefore retired to his estates in the north.[153] In contrast, Viscount Fentoun was a close friend of the monarch. He had been educated with James VI in Scotland, served as gentleman of the bedchamber, and at the English accession, had been appointed captain of the yeoman of the guard.[154] It seemed as if Otto's departure from Shrewsbury's employment was destined to advance his career, particularly as Fentoun was 'resolved to doe him all the best offices' he could.[155] However, Fentoun was not a man of his word. Otto was obliged once again to sue for Shrewsbury's support in order to obtain his next appointment.

It is surprising that Cuthbert Bolton should have taken the apparently retrograde step of forsaking the patronage of Thomas Baron Buckhurst, lord treasurer of England and one of Elizabeth's most prestigious courtiers, to join the household of the gentleman Michael Hickes, admittedly a prominent figure in court politics. Naturally Hickes was curious to know why Bolton preferred to serve him rather than a nobleman. Bolton's motive was also not financial gain, as his salary under Hickes did not exceed that which he had received from

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152. Lambeth PL MS 708 f. 196. The documentation concerning Otto's departure is undated; however he must have quit Shrewsbury's employment some time between March 1606 when Fentoun was raised to the peerage and March 1608 when he sailed for Denmark (Cokayne, The Complete Peerage, VII, 101). Price's assumption that Otto joined Fentoun's retinue in 1605 is incorrect (Patrons and Musicians, 103).

153. The main Talbot seat was situated in Sheffield from where the earls controlled major landholdings in Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Shropshire and Herefordshire (C. Jamison, 'A Calendar of the Shrewsbury and Talbot Papers', Derbyshire Archaeological Society, 1 (1966), ix). G.R. Batho (ed.), 'A Calendar of the Talbot Papers in the College of Arms', Derbyshire Archaeological Society, 4 (1968/1971), xiv-xv. These papers have been transferred to Lambeth Palace Library.

154. Cokayne, The Complete Peerage, VII, 100. Erskine was subsequently appointed groom of the stole in February 1605.

155. Lambeth PL MS 3202 f.79

Buckhurst. Indeed he later remarked that he had 'little eyther mony or meanes to do any thinge sodeynely'. He suggested to Hickes that the move would be beneficial in furthering his career as 'there were more of that quallitie in [Buckhurst's] howse then were nedefull and that [he] hoped to chaunge for [his] good.' However, the satisfaction which Bolton was reported to have given in Buckhurst's service did not extend to Hickes's. Within two years, he was suspended because his 'demeanour was such as infected and made worse the whole house'. He eventually admitted to stealing several items, having been 'addicted to thes faultes of old', and was forced to leave early in 1604.[156]

Household musicians decided for a variety of reasons to relinquish their appointments. Of the servants listed in Appendix III, two joined choral foundations while sixteen others moved to royal posts at home and abroad.

George Mason left Cumberland's employment towards the end of 1612. He moved to York and continued to serve the Cliffords on a temporary basis until at least December 1619. He may have joined the choir at York Minster. On 25 August 1613 the members of the cathedral chapter voted unanimously that one George Mason should have a 'singeinge mans place' which had recently fallen vacant. According to the chapter acts, he was to receive £12 per annum plus £3 8s formerly paid to the master of the choristers, and an additional £13 for the first year only, amounting initially to at least four times the salary which Cumberland's musician had earned in private service.[157] The wording of the appointment suggests that Mason was responsible for training the choristers as well as singing in the choir, but the chamberlain's rolls of the vicars choral contain no record of him serving in either capacity, even though his successor to the post of master of the choristers was not appointed until September 1616.[158]

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156. L. Hulse, 'Sir Michael Hickes (1543-1612): a Study in Musical Patronage', M&L, 66/3 (1985), 220-27, see esp. p. 222

157. York Minster Library, Chapter Acts 1563-1634 f. 475v

158. I am grateful to Ian Payne for this information; see P. Aston, 'Music since the Reformation', A History of York Minster, eds G.E. Aylmer and R. Cant (Oxford, 1977), 395-429, see esp. p. 399. Mr Mason, organist and master of the choristers at Trinity College, Cambridge, and composer of eight pavans preserved in Ibl Add. MSS 30826-28 has now been identified as William Lord Compton's musician and

Very little is known about John Farmer's early career. By 1591 he was in service to Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford whom he described in the dedication to Divers and Sundrie Waies of Two Parts in One as '[my] very good lord & master'. Farmer continued to benefit from Oxford's 'liberall hand' throughout the 1590s and may have exploited the earl's patronage to gain the post of organist and master of the choristers at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin in February 1595.[159]

Table 3.6 contains a list of household musicians who secured appointments at court. Posts in the royal household had always been much sought after because they offered the recipient prestige and the possibility of considerable financial remuneration.[160] A court musician received on average £40 per annum plus an allowance of £16 2s 6d to buy livery, nearly three times the stipend paid to musicians in major private households.[161] Pluralism both within and outside the court enabled royal musicians to supplement their income through teaching, performance and composition.[162] Household musicians did not benefit from pluralism of office. They were expected to fulfil both musical and non-musical duties for a fixed annual stipend, and rarely supplemented

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not the Yorkshire-based Mason (I. Payne, 'Instrumental Music at Trinity College, Cambridge, c. 1594-c. 1615: Archival and Biographical Evidence', M&L, 68/2 (1987), 128-40, see esp. pp. 135, 137).

159. Farmer recorded in his publication The First Set of English Madrigals to Fowre Voices (1599), also dedicated to Oxford, 'Most honorable lord, it cometh not within the compasse of my power to expresse all the duty I owe, not to pay the least part: so farre have your Honorable favors outstripp'd all meanes to manifest my humble affection, that there is nothing left buy praying and wondering.' Farmer deserted his post as organist in 1597 and within two years had returned to London (Fellowes, The English madrigal composers, 241).

160. Phillips, 'Crown Musical Patronage from Elizabeth I to Charles I'

161. Senior officers at court received boardwages which were commutable thus providing an extra allowance, while lesser household officers were given 'bouge' consisting of bread and ale (G.E. Aylmer, The King's Servants: The Civil Service of Charles I 1625-1642 (rev. ed. 1974), 168-70. Musicians in attendance probably qualified for bouge but there is no evidence of them being entitled to accommodation at court (see, for example, Ashbee, RECM, VI, 35).

162. Henry Lawes, for example, taught the Earl of Bridgewater's children and performed occasionally for their step-grandmother, Alice, Dowager Countess of Derby, while serving in the Chapel Royal and the King's Musick.

Table 3.6 Advancement from private to royal service

| Musician | Patron (dates of service) | Court appointment (dates of service)[163] |
|---|---|---|
| William Damon | Thomas Lord Buckhurst (1565 - > ?1571) | Queen's musician, recorder (1577-91) |
| Horatio Lupo | 1st Earl of Dorset (< Sep. 1607 - > Apr.1608) | King's Musick, violin (1612-1626) |
| John Myners | 1st Earl of Dorset (< Aug. 1607 - > Apr.1608) | Prince Henry (1610-1612); Chapel Royal (1615) |
| Jonas Wrench | 1st Earl of Dorset (< Sep. 1607 - > Apr.1608 | Prince Henry (1610-1612); Prince Charles (1616-1625; King's Musick, lutes and voices (1625-1626) |
| Thomas White | 1st Earl of Dorset (Jan. - Apr.1608) | ? Prince of Poland (1617) |
| Cormack MacDermott | 1st Earl of Salisbury (< Feb.1603- Oct.1605) | King's Musick, harper 1605-1618) |
| Nicholas Lanier | 1st and 2nd Earls of Salisbury (< Jul.1605 - > Apr. 1613 | King's Musick, singer, lutenist, Master of the King's Musick (1616-42, 1660-66) |
| Thomas Warwick | 1st Earl of Salisbury (?< 1605 - > 1609) | King's Musick, virginal (1625-1642) |
| John Coprario | 1st and 2nd Earls of Salisbury (< Apr.1603 - > Apr.1613); 4th Earl of Cumberland (1614-17); Earl of Hertford (?) | Prince Charles (1622-25); King's Musick, composer, lutes and voices (1625-26) |
| John Dowland | Lord Howard de Walden (? - < Oct.1612) | King's Musick, lute (1612-1626) |
| Henry Lawes | Bridgewater (?-?); ?3rd Earl of Dorset (< Mar.- Oct.1621) | Chapel Royal, contratenor (1626-42, 1660-62); King's Musick, lutes and voices (1631-42, 1660-62) |
| Robert Dowland | William Baron Cavendish (May 1612 - > Jan.1616) | King's Musick, lute (1626-1641) |
| John Daniel | Earl of Hertford (1603-1605) | Prince Charles (1616-1625); King's Musick, lutes and voices (1625) |

163. Information taken from Ashbee, RECM, I, III-VI; E.F. Rimbault (ed.), 'The Old Cheque Book or Book of Remembrance of the Chapel Royal 1561-1744', Camden Society, new series 3 (1872) and Acts of the Privy Council 1616-1617 (1927), 267

Table 3.6 contd./

| Musician | Patron (dates of service) | Court appointment (dates of service) |
|---|---|---|
| Thomas Cutting | Lady Arbella Stuart (? - Apr.1608) | Christian IV of Denmark, lute (1608-?); Prince Henry 1610-1612) |
| Martin Otto | 7th Earl of Shrewsbury (< 1591 - < Mar.1608); Viscount Fentoun (1606 - ?Mar.1608) | Christian IV of Denmark (1608-1614); Chapel Royal (1615-1620) |
| Jacques Gaultier | Earl of Buckingham (1617-?) | Prince Charles, lute (1623-25), Henrietta Maria (1625-42) |

their income through service to more than one patron on anything but an occasional basis.[164] Royal servants could also supplement their income with proceeds from patents, leases, monopolies and sinecures under court control, such perquisites being rarely, if ever, available to household musicians.[165]

The rewards which royal service offered were therefore very attractive, but as Dr John Wilson discovered, securing a post was another matter:[166]

> Dr Wilson (the famous musition and as great a humorist) made great and frequent sute to K' Charles, to bee admitted to be one of his private musiq: But by the envie and opposition of some at Court, was still put by. 9 petitions hee had delivered

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164. For example, two musicians attached to the earls of Suffolk and Cumberland each received 40s for playing in the lord treasurer's entertainment at Salisbury House in May 1608 (Salisbury MSS bills 22; Appendix VIII).

165. In 1598 Thomas Morley was granted Byrd's printing monopoly, but in July he had to petition for extra clauses to be inserted, and wrote to Sir Robert Cecil, 'if it please your Honore to favore me...your servant, Mr Heybourne, Mr Fernandos brother shall receve the one halfe of the benifitt whatt so ever for the terme of yeres grantid' (Salisbury MSS vol. 62/77; R. Marlow, 'Sir Ferdinando Heyborne alias Richardson', MT, 115 (1974), 736-39, see esp. p. 736). Morley's letter casts no light on the nature of his relationship with Christopher Heybourne nor do we know if Cecil had made the 50% share in profits with his servant a condition of assisting the petitioner.

166. Museum of London, Tangye collection, Manuscript notebook of a society man, c. 1640-1660

upon for many severall vacancies, and yet still some or other was preferred before him. At length another occasion being offered, hee put in his 10th petition in these words: Sir I have lived these many years only upon commendations of pitie: most men commend mee, and say 'tis pity I am not your servant': soe say Your Majesties etc. Upon reading hereof the K' sent a nobleman to assure him, that hee should have the next place that fell whereat Wilson swore that hee would not believe the King. Will you not believe the K'? No, as long as the K' sees with other mens eyes and heare with other mens eares, I will not believe his answer sent for him; and not long after hee obtained his request.

Of all the royal establishments, the King's Musick in particular was rife with nepotism. Aliens such as the Lupos, Bassanos and Laniers had dominated court positions for several generations so that places were often inaccessible to London and provincial musicians, regardless of their skill. Three of the musicians listed in Table 3.6 were related to royal servants. Horatio Lupo joined four members of his family in the royal violin band in 1612; Nicholas Lanier's father and uncle had already served in the royal household for several years prior to his appointment in January 1615/6; and Robert Dowland was granted his father's post among the lutes and voices in 1626.[167]

It is difficult to estimate the extent to which leading courtiers such as Thomas Baron Buckhurst and the Earl of Salisbury were influential in securing royal appointment for their employees.[168] Two members of Salisbury's band did seek his support for this purpose. In July 1605 John Lanier attempted to secure the reversion of Piero Guye's

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167. Horatio Lupo was the grandson of Ambrose de Almaliach alias Lupo of Milan, a sephardic jew of Spanish or Portuguese origin and one of the founding members of Henry VIII's string consort. By the end of Elizabeth's reign Ambrose's sons, Joseph and Peter and two of their children, Thomas the elder and Thomas the younger, served in the violin band. Horatio succeeded to his grandfather's post which had fallen vacant due to the death of William Warren. I am grateful to Peter Holman for supplying this information.

168. Buckhurst was related to Queen Elizabeth through her mother Anne Boleyn, first cousin of the nobleman's father, Sir Richard Sackville, and from early in Elizabeth's reign he was ordered to be in continual attendance upon the queen. He served in diplomatic missions and on the Privy Council. In 1599 he was appointed lord treasurer of England (DNB, XVII, 587). Salisbury's many offices included secretary of state (1596-1612), master of the Court of Wards (1599-1612) and lord treasurer (1608-12) (Cokayne, The Complete Peerage, XI, 403). Dowland's patron was the son of the lord chamberlain, the Earl of Suffolk, who was ultimately responsible for the granting of appointments to the King's Musick.

place in the royal wind band for his son, Nicholas. Lanier himself had occupied the flautist's post for twenty years and was willing to continue therein until Nicholas had completed his apprenticeship under Salisbury, so that 'it wilbe no prejudice to your Lordshippes service', but his son did not join the royal household until three years after his patron's death.[169] Likewise, William Frost sought the post of virginal teacher to Princess Elizabeth which had fallen vacant in December 1611 through the death of John Marchant, but the place was given instead to one of Prince Henry's musicians, the composer and virginalist, John Bull.[170] Salisbury was in a position to influence both their appointments, but their lack of success may have been due to the fact that the earl preferred his own interests.

It was not unusual during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries for English musicians to serve in the courts of foreign princes. Christian IV, King of Denmark and Norway (1588-1648), particularly favoured English lutenists and violists. His court band included such notable figures as John Dowland, Daniel Norcombe and William Brade.[171] Musical relations between England and Denmark were further cemented in 1603 when his brother-in-law, James VI, acceded to the English throne. Christian IV travelled twice to England, first in July 1606 and then in July 1614. He was entertained extensively during his first visit, and was determined on his return to Denmark to acquire Martin Otto and Thomas Cutting for his own royal band, both of whom were well known in court circles through the patronage of Viscount Fentoun and Lady Arbella Stuart respectively.[172]

As mentioned above, Otto had been released from the 7th Earl of Shrewsbury's household in order to secure employment under Viscount

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169. Salisbury MSS vol. 111/100. Price is wrong in stating that John Lanier offered to carry out his son's duties in Salisbury's household (Patrons and Musicians, 174).

170. Ibl Lansdowne MS 92 f. 130

171. A. Hammerich, 'Musical Relations between England and Denmark in the 17th Century', Report of the Fourth Congress of the International Musical Society (1912), 129-33

172. In 1617 the privy council issued a pass to George Vincent to go to the prince of Poland along with eight musicians including one Thomas White who may be synonymous with Dorset's musician (Acts of the Privy Council 1616-1617, 267).

Fentoun. However, it appears from surviving correspondence that Shrewsbury still regarded the musician as his own servant, and was angry with Fentoun who admitted to the earl in October 1606:[173]

> ...it is trew that I caused Mr Otto be adverteised of a desire the King of Denmark hath that he should repair to him, and my warraunt himself will shew it to your goode honnor, yf yow will doe so much as to looke on it. As for my self, I am resolved to doe him all the best offices I can, either that way or els where as he shall think best...

Fentoun failed in this, and it was only Shrewsbury's intervention that secured Otto a post in the Danish chapel eighteen months later.[174] In 1614, Otto was dismissed with eye trouble but, on the recommendation of Christian IV, Queen Anne interceded on his behalf so that in September of the following year he obtained John Baldwin's place in the Chapel Royal where he remained until his death in 1620.[175]

Both Queen Anne and Prince Henry exerted pressure on Lady Arbella Stuart to send her lutenist, Thomas Cutting, to the Danish court. 'There are, indeed, few professors of this art who please me as he does', she wrote to Christian IV, but knew that she could not risk incurring royal displeasure by refusing to release Cutting from service.[176] The lutenist sailed for Denmark in March 1608, apparently in the company of Otto. Both musicians were enrolled in the royal chapel on 1 April, but Cutting returned to England some time during 1610 to join Prince Henry's musical establishment.[177]

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In the fifty years prior to the Civil War the nature of service

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173. Lambeth PL MS 3202 f. 79

174. Lambeth PL MS 3203 f. 574

175. Hammerich, 'Musical relations between England and Denmark', 131; Rimbault, 'The Old Cheque Book...of the Chapel Royal', 8-9. Prior to his appointment to the Chapel Royal on 30 September 1615, Otto had spent three years in England in the service of Queen Anne along with three other Danish musicians, Mogens Pederson, Jacob Orn and Hans Brachrogge (J. Bergsagel, 'Anglo-Scandinavian Relations before 1700', Report of the 11th Congress of the International Musical Society, 1 (1974), 263-71, see esp. p. 269; Acts of the Privy Council 1613-14 (1921), 483).

176. Ward, 'A Dowland Miscellany', 151

177. Bergsagel, 'Danish Musicians in England', 17

provided by household musicians remained relatively stable both in terms of the numbers employed and the conditions under which they served. The size of Dorset's musical band, which was exceptional by contemporary standards, was commented upon by several Jacobeans, including George Abbot who noted in his funeral sermon that the earl 'entertained Musitians the most curious which any where hee could have, and therein his lordship excelled unto his dying day.'[178] The terms of service binding master to musician were comparable to the contracts of other household servants, but certain duties, including tuition and the performance of recreational music within the private apartments of the noble house, resulted in a degree of intimacy between employer and employee which did not apply universally to non-musical servants of comparable rank. Furthermore, the financial rewards enjoyed by several of the musicians listed in Appendix III bore no relation to their social standing, but were given in recognition of their skill. Household service also conferred status upon musicians. It provided security of office during a period in which independent singers and instrumentalists were precariously placed with regard to the law. Moreover, the stable environment of the household community offered musicians the occasions on which to exhibit their skills, the opportunity for composers to experiment with the latest musical styles, and together, the recognition, indeed the high esteem, to encourage the flowering of their talents.

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178. G. Abbot, A Sermon preached at Westminster...at the funerall solemnities of the right honorable Thomas Earle of Dorset (1608), 14. See also Lives of Lady Anne Clifford...and her parents, summarized by herself (Roxburghe Club, 1916), 46; Hulse, 'Sir Michael Hickes', 222

## CHAPTER FOUR

## WAITS AND OTHER ITINERANT MUSICIANS

Throughout the Tudor and early Stuart periods noble and gentry households employed ballad singers, harpists, fiddlers, and other travelling musicians, both singly and in consort, to provide entertainment during religious festivals, family celebrations and visits of important personages, regardless of the number of musicians retained in full-time service. Itinerants were also rewarded on an ad hoc basis for playing at the gates or within the courtyard of a great house. Travelling musicians fell into three categories: nominal retainers, waits and independent musicians, all of whom were subject to the laws of vagabondage.

### I. VAGRANCY LAWS

Prior to 1531 there was almost no legislation on vagrancy, though the fourteenth-century Statute of Labourers had forbidden those who were unemployed from wandering around the country. Economic and religious change during the early Tudor period exacerbated the problems of unemployment and pauperism.[1] The government therefore introduced specific legislation to control the growing number of beggars and vagabonds. Vagrants were divided into two groups: the impotent poor who were unable to support themselves and idlers who refused to work. Under the statute of 1531 the latter were forbidden to roam throughout the kingdom on pain of punishment including whipping and branding.[2] This law remained in force until 1572, except for three years during Edward VI's reign (1547-49) when the government decreed that vagabonds could

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1. Debasement of coinage resulted in rising inflation, the system of retainers was made illegal, enclosures for pasture farming put many labourers out of work and the dissolution of the monasteries cut off a source of poor relief (Holdsworth, A History of English Law, IV, 391).

2. Holdsworth, A History of English Law, IV, 388; Statutes of the Realm 1509-1547 (1817), 22 Henry VIII c. 12, sections I-III

be enslaved.[3] However, the severity of the Edwardian statute caused it to be repealed and the law of 1531 revived.

The statute of 1572, the first to refer specifically to minstrels, defined a vagabond as one:[4]

> ...beynge whole and mightye in Body and able to Labour, havinge not Land or Maister, nor using any lawfull Marchaundize Crafte or Mysterye whereby hee or shee might get his or her Lyvinge, and can gyve no reckninge how hee or shee dothe lawfully get his or her Lyvinge.

This broad definition aroused considerable parliamentary opposition. Moreover, several members were perturbed by the inclusion of minstrels and other familiar travellers.[5]

Minstrels were able to claim immunity from the law providing they secured a licence or passport from two justices of the peace, one of whom had to be of the quorum in the county in which they travelled and performed, or they could claim the patronage of 'any Baron of this Realme or...any other honorable Personage of greater Degree...'. Those who neither had a licence nor a patron risked being whipped and burned through the gristle of the right ear unless a master could be found to take offenders into service for one year. Vagrants convicted three times were sentenced to death.

The 1598 statute was little more than a modification of the 1572 legislation, though punishments were moderated and, significantly, the privilege of immunity extended to minstrels was withdrawn.[6]

Both of the Elizabethan statutes refer to itinerant musicians as minstrels. The epithet 'minstrel' commonly denoted one who provided

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3. Statutes of the Realm 1547-1624, 1 Edward VI c. 3, section I; C.S.L. Davies, 'Slavery and Protector Somerset: the Vagrancy Act of 1547', Economic History Review, 2nd series 19 (1966), 533-49

4. Statutes of the Realm 1547-1624, 14 Elizabeth c. 5, section V; A.L. Beier, 'Vagrants and the Social Order in Elizabethan England', Past and Present, 64 (1974), 3-29, see esp. pp. 10-11; A.L. Beier, Masterless Men The Vagrancy Problem in England 1560-1640 (1984), 96-99

5. P. Slack, Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England (1988), 124-25; T. E. Hartley (ed.), Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I (Leicester, 1981), I, 312-13, 384

6. Statutes of the Realm 1547-1624, 39 Elizabeth c. 4, section II; F. Aydelotte, 'Elizabethan Rogues and Vagabonds', Oxford Historical and Literary Studies, 1 (1913), chpt. 3; Holdsworth, A History of English Law, IV, 394-95; Woodfill, Musicians in English Society, 56-58; Slack, Poverty and Policy, 122-31

popular musical entertainment (fiddlers, pipers and ballad singers), as well as miming, acting or dancing. During the course of the sixteenth century the description became derogatory. 'Musician' was used for more respectable performers who specialised in music alone such as choral singers, royal servants and resident household employees. Thomas Whythorne criticised the legal profession for its failure to apply rigorously the term minstrel to travelling musicians:[7]

> Those magistrates and justices be not well advised...who do give licenses unto minstrels under the name of musicians to go about the country with their music...and if they do remember themselves, the statute nameth them minstrels, and so ought they to do in their licenses given to them.

By the late Elizabethan period itinerant singers and instrumentalists were generally referred to as musicians.[8] Nevertheless, the change in terminology did not guarantee immunity from prosecution. In order to ensure safe passage after 1598, it was still advisable to secure a licence or the patronage of a nobleman.[9]

## II. TRAVELLING MUSICIANS

### 1. Nominal retainers

A travelling musician who wore a nobleman's badge or livery as protection against prosecution was considered to be a servant and therefore belonged to the rank of nominal retainer. Developed in the fourteenth century, this form of patronage was originally intended to provide an employer with a potential fighting force at a time when England did not have a standing army, but it also enabled a nobleman to supplement his household staff on those occasions when he wished to

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7. Aydelotte, 'Elizabethan Rogues and Vagabonds', 44; Osborn, The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne, 234

8. Only one exception to this trend survives among the papers examined. The 2nd Earl of Pembroke's accounts dating from the 1580s include payments to 'iiii mynstrelles of Horsby' and to a 'mynstrell' (Lbl Harl. MS 7186 ff. 63v and 93).

9. None of the itinerant musicians examined in this chapter is recorded as having a license to travel. Woodfill includes only one reference to musicians carrying a passport, those of Henry Cavendish, brother of Sir William Cavendish, who performed at Nottingham in 1587-88 (Musicians in English Society, 67).

demonstrate his status and power.[10] Patronage of retainers continued throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, principally because the system acted in the interest of both employer and employee. The patron gained a retinue at relatively little extra cost while the servant, under the protection of a great nobleman, enhanced his status, though he could claim no place in the regular routine of the household.[11]

References to nominally retained musicians survive in a wide range of contemporary sources including disbursements, caterparcels and civic records, though tracing information can be difficult. The wording of household accounts regarding a musician's status is often ambiguous. In September 1642, for example, the 5th Earl of Bath paid 5s to his 'own musicians', a gift which could pertain either to his resident servants or to his band of travelling fiddlers who played at Tawstock on an occasional basis.[12] Furthermore, charting the employment of nominal retainers by town councils and other formal bodies would involve detailed research into civic records located throughout England, a task which is beyond the scope of this study. The following analysis is based therefore on a sample of eleven English towns and cities--Newcastle, Chester, Coventry, Norwich, York, Cambridge, Kendal,

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10. Girouard, Life in the English Country House, 20-21

11. Despite the existence of the 1504 statute forbidding the maintenance of retainers other than domestic servants, the Tudor monarchy found it politically expedient to allow the nobility to retain non-residents (Statutes of the Realm 1377-1509 (1816), pp. 658-60, 19 Henry VII c. 14; W.H. Dunham, 'Lord Hastings' Indentured Retainers 1461-1483', Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 39 (1953), 1-175, see esp. pp. 90-116). Nominally retained musicians and actors were perceived by contemporaries as 'travelling advertisements for the greater glory of their patron' (Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 709; Westfall, Patrons and Performance, 150). Several of the earls listed in Appendix I patronised travelling players, and of these at least nine are known to have supported itinerant musicians and trumpeters -- 5th Earl of Derby, 5th Earl of Huntingdon, 17th Earl of Oxford, 4th Earl of Worcester, 3rd Earl of Bath, Earl of Hertford, 1st and 2nd Earls of Leicester, and 8th Earl of Shrewsbury.

12. KAO U269/A525/5

**Table 4.1 Nominally retained musicians**

| Patron | Musicians | Place and (date) of service |
|---|---|---|
| 5th Earl of Bath | fiddlers | Tawstock* (1641)[13] |
| 3rd Earl of Cumberland | musicians | Winkburn* (1591); Newcastle (1599)[14] |
| Ferdinando Lord Strange | musicians | Coventry (1589)[15] |
| 6th Earl of Derby | harper | Londesborough* (1612)[16] |
| William Lord Burghley | musicians | Coventry (1621)[17] |
| 5th Earl of Huntingdon | musicians | London*(1612); Coventry (1613)[18] |
| Edmund Lord Sheffield | drummer and fife | Londesborough* (1619)[19] |
| 17th Earl of Oxford | musicians | Barnstaple (1584-1585)[20] |
| 5th Earl of Rutland | musicians | Hardwick* (1601, 1608); Ashby-de-la-Zouche* (1607)[21] |
| 6th Earl of Rutland | musicians | Hardwick* (1616); Belvoir* (1618); Coventry (1630)[22] |
| 10th Earl of Shrewsbury | waits | Coventry (1641)[23] |
| 4th Earl of Worcester | musicians | Ashby-de-la-Zouche* (1607); Coventry (1614, 1619)[24] |

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13. KAO U269/A525/5. A company of fiddlers, possibly Bath's own retainers, was paid in November 1643 and January 1643/4 for playing at Tawstock (ibid.).

14. HMC Rutland, IV, 400; REED Newcastle, 130

15. REED Coventry, 323

16. Bolton MSS book 94 unfoliated leaves after f. 96v

17. REED Coventry, 414

18. Hardwick MS 29 p. 313; REED Coventry, 386. The musicians paid at the Hastings estate of Ashby-de-la-Zouche in 1607 may also have been Huntingdon retainers rather than household servants (Hastings MSS accounts box 6, John Burrowes's account beginning on 23 September 1606).

19. Bolton MSS book 98 f. 130v

20. REED Devon, 45

21. Hardwick MSS 8 f. 146 and 29 p. 22; Hastings MSS accounts box 6, John Burrowes's account beginning on 23 September 1606

22. Hardwick MS 29 p. 492; HMC Rutland, IV, 514; REED Coventry, 431

23. REED Coventry, 358. The term 'waits implies that the earl's musicians were shawm players (Woodfill, Musicians in English Society, 84-85).

24. Hastings MSS accounts box 6, John Burrowes's account beginning on 23 September 1606; REED Coventry, 389, 408

Gloucester, Carlisle, Barnstaple and Exeter.[25]

Twelve of the earls listed in Appendix I are known to have patronised travelling musicians.[26] Column three of Table 4.1 includes the location and the date on which they were hired by civic authorities and by the noblemen examined (marked *). In order to secure immunity from prosecution, nominally retained musicians were obliged to demonstrate their source of patronage by means of livery or a badge embroidered with the patron's coat-of-arms. The 6th Earl of Rutland, for example, commissioned an embroiderer in June 1624 to make badges for his musicians, while in March 1640/1 the 5th Earl of Bath's company of fiddlers received livery coats.[27]

Seven of the noblemen listed in Appendix I also patronised itinerant trumpeters, four of whom are identified by name in the 1618-1619 Norwich records. In contrast to the evidence contained in Table 4.1, none of the trumpeters listed below, with the possible exception

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25. References are taken from the series Records of Early English Drama (REED) (Toronto, 1979-1990): A.F. Johnston and M. Rogerson (eds), 'York', 2 vols (1979); L.M. Clopper (ed.), 'Chester' (1979); R.W. Ingram (ed.) 'Coventry' (1981); J.J. Anderson (ed.), 'Newcastle upon Tyne (1982); D. Galloway (ed.), 'Norwich, 1540-1642' (1984); J.M. Wasson (ed.), 'Devon' (1986); A.H. Nelson (ed.), 'Cambridge', 2 vols (1989).

26. It is not clear from the surviving records if the musicians patronised by the 4th Earl of Derby (December 1592) and the 3rd Earl of Southampton (August 1615) were household employees or nominal retainers (KAO U1475/A38/1; Ashbee, RECM, IV, 201-02). Woodfill believed that nominal retainers far outnumbered domestic musicians, but the records examined do not support this view (Musicians in English Society, 65). Contemporary sources rarely identify nominally retained musicians by name. They are usually described by association with a particular patron such as 'Lord Cumberland's musicians', though two itinerants named in the surviving accounts of the earls of Rutland were probably family retainers. The companies of Nicholas Franklyn (1609/10, 1614/5) and George Moone (1620/1) may be synonymous with 'my Lord's musitians' who provided music during the Christmas festivities at Belvoir in 1617/8 (HMC Rutland, IV, 486, 504, 523, 514). The earls listed in Appendix I also employed travelling musicians attached to other gentlemen and noblemen. For example, the Earl of Devonshire's brother, Henry Cavendish, patronised four itinerant musicians, as did Lord Willoughby. Both groups were regularly employed in the Midlands during the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean periods (Hardwick MSS 10A, 10B, 29 pp. 158, 334; HMC Rutland, IV, 399, 407 (3), 452, 468, 471, 514).

27. HMC Rutland, IV, 526; KAO U269/A525/5

**Table 4.2 Nominally retained trumpeters**

| Patron | Trumpeter (identity) | Place (date) |
|---|---|---|
| 3rd Earl of Bath | trumpeters | Coventry (1577)[28] |
| Duke of Buckingham | trumpeter/s (Robert Broome)[29] | Coventry (1618, 1621); Cambridge (1627-29); Norwich (1619)[30] |
| Earl of Hertford | trumpeter (Edward Rippen) | Norwich (1618)[31] |
| 1st Earl of Leicester | trumpeter (Robert Trevaile) | Coventry (1618); Norwich (1619)[32] |
| 2nd Earl of Leicester | trumpeters | Coventry (1642)[33] |
| 18th Earl of Oxford | trumpeter/s | York (1612); Coventry (1621, 1623)[34] |
| 3rd Earl of Pembroke | trumpeter | York (1612); Cambridge (1622-24)[35] |
| 5th Earl of Rutland | trumpeter | York (1612)[36] |
| 8th Earl of Shrewsbury | trumpeter | Coventry (1618)[37] |
| 1st Earl of Suffolk | trumpeter/s | Cambridge (1615-17); Coventry (1616)[38] |
| Theophilus Lord de Walden | trumpeter (Dennis Vere) | Norwich (1618, 1619)[39] |

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28. REED Coventry, 282

29. Broome was appointed one of the King's trumpeters in place of Edward Jewkes on 4 May 1625 (Ashbee, RECM, III, 132). He was dead by October 1626 (ibid., 20). See also Ashbee, RECM, IV, 61, 66-67

30. REED Coventry, 405, 414; REED Norwich, 159; REED Cambridge, 605-09, 617

31. REED Norwich, 156

32. REED Coventry, 405; REED Norwich, 159

33. REED Coventry, 449

34. REED York, 539; REED Coventry, 414, 417

35. REED York, 539; REED Cambridge, 584, 593

36. REED York, 539

37. REED Coventry, 405

38. REED Cambridge, 524-25, 554; REED Coventry, 396

39. Lord de Walden's younger brother, Thomas Lord Howard, who later became Earl of Berkshire, patronised a trumpeter named Abraham Rogers (REED Norwich, 159).

of Rutland's servant, is mentioned in family records.[40] The surviving information refers only to occasional employment by civic authorities.[41]

## 2. Waits

Despite the restrictions of the 1598 statute, town waits, in contrast to nominal retainers and independent musicians, continued to enjoy immunity from the law. The livery which waits received from their civic patrons attested to their official status, and providing they behaved honestly and respectably, they were safe from prosecution.[42] When not required by their civic employers waits were at liberty to travel the length and breadth of the kingdom, though some companies restricted the extent of their peregrinations to neighbouring towns and individuals or journeyed only during the summer months.[43] Occasional payments to waits can be found in a number of household accounts, but it is often difficult to estimate the frequency with which they were hired by a particular nobleman as the survival of a continuous record of household expenditure from this period is rare. In this respect, the extensive series of Clifford accounts dating from 1594 to 1644 is unique in providing a comprehensive picture of the pattern of their employment in one provincial noble household.

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40. The trumpeter who wore Rutland livery at York in 1612 may have been Nynnion Gibbion (see Chapter 3 p. 45).

41. James Lord Strange may also have retained itinerant trumpeters. On 29 December 1636 a company falsely claiming his patronage was rewarded by Henry Lord Clifford (Bolton MSS book 175 f. 90).

42. Woodfill, Musicians in English Society, 104. The York waits, for example, wore scarlet livery coats, scutcheons (badges embroidered with the city's arms) and silver chains from which hung the city's arms (J. Merryweather, York Music: The story of a city's music from 1304 to 1896 (York, 1988), 45-48). Civic authorities were diligent in reprimanding town waits. In October 1584 two of the York waits appeared in court on account of their disorderly behaviour. They were accused of being drunk, badly dressed and unable 'so connynglie [to] play on their instrumentes as they ought to do' (REED York, 408).

43. Woodfill, Musicians in English Society, 104-105. The waits of Lincoln, for example, appear to have travelled only during spring and summer. All five references to this company in the accounts of the 4th Earl of Cumberland date from April through to August (Bolton MSS book 77, book 97 f. 104v, and book 98 ff. 132v, 133 and 136 (1612-1619)).

Table 4.3 Companies of waits hired by the Cliffords

| Company | No. of times[44] | Miles from Londesborough | Miles from Skipton[45] | Period of service |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Skipton | 7 (1) | 55 | - | 1618-1627 |
| York | 10 (8) | 17 | 37 | 1595-1639 |
| Beverley | 11 (2) | 11 | - | 1594-1625 |
| Doncaster | 6 (1) | 32 | - | 1595-1625 |
| Barwick[46] | 1 | 30 | - | 1621 |
| Hull | 4 (3) | 18 | - | 1619-1627 |
| Pontefract[47] | 2 | 30 | - | 1609-1619 |
| Richmond | 3 | 56 | - | 1609-1612 |
| Halifax | 4 | 50 | - | 1609-1618 |
| Ripon | 3 | 38 | - | 1611-1618 |
| Rotherham | 3 | 44 | - | 1611-1619 |
| Leeds | 2 | 36 | - | 1612-1634 |
| Towton | 1 | 24 | - | 1611 |
| Carlisle | 2 | 140 | - | 1598-1612 |
| Kendal | 4 | 93 | - | 1607-1639 |
| Stamford | 1 | - | 112 | 1634 |
| Lincoln | 5 | 48 | - | 1612-1619 |
| Newark | 2 | 52 | - | 1619-1626 |
| Lynn | 2 | 94 | - | 1612 |

At least nineteen companies of waits were hired by the Cliffords. They were employed chiefly at Londesborough in the East Riding, though three companies did play at Skipton, the Clifford's principal Yorkshire seat.[48] In the absence of a detailed itinerary, it is impossible to ascertain the distance which a company was prepared to travel in order to play on the earl's estates. For instance, a band working in the vicinity of Londesborough or Skipton may have been hired because of its availability. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note how far waits

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44. The numbers in brackets refer to bands described as musicians rather than waits (see below, p. 98).

45. The number of miles is estimated on a straight-line basis.

46. Neither Woodfill (Musicians in English Society, 293-95) nor Merryweather (York Music, 174-75) includes this town, but both authors acknowledge that their information is far from comprehensive. This entry probably refers to the town of Barwick near Leeds rather than Berwick-on-Tweed.

47. Known in contemporary sources as Pomfret

48. Table 4.3 does not include payments made to the waits of St Martin-in-the-fields and Westminster who were hired to play at the earl's lodgings in London on 25 January 1616/7 and 20 February 1620/1 respectively (Bolton MSS book 97 f. 101v and book 99 f. 110).

travelled from their place of regular employment in search of work. As one would expect, the majority of companies hired by the earl and his son (13/19) came from Yorkshire towns, though their abode ranged from Skipton itself to as far away as Rotherham and Halifax, forty-four and fifty miles respectively from Londesborough. Waits were also hired from further north (Carlisle, Cumberland and Kendal, Westmorland), the Midlands (Lincoln and Stamford, Lincolnshire and Newark, Nottinghamshire) and East Anglia (Lynn, Norfolk).

For certain years the Clifford accounts include details of the number of waits employed in an individual company:

**Table 4.4 Numbers of waits**

| Town | Numbers of waits (year employed) |
|---|---|
| Skipton | 2 (1618-20, 1625, 1627); 3 (1620) |
| York | 5 (1607, 1626); 7 (1612); 6 (1635)[49] |
| Beverley | 3 (1611-13;1619); 5 (1619); 4 (1622) |
| Doncaster | 5 (1613) |
| Barwick | 3 (1621) |
| Hull | 5 (1619); 4 (1622) |
| Pontefract | 4 (1609) |
| Richmond | 3 (1611); 4 (1612) |
| Halifax | 3 (1618) |
| Ripon | 4 (1611); 3 (1612, 1618) |
| Rotherham | 3 (1611); 2 (1619) |
| Leeds | 3 (1612) |
| Towston | 4 (1611) |
| Carlisle | 4 (1612) |
| Kendal | 3 (1634) |
| Stamford | 5 (1634) |
| Lincoln | 3 (1612, 1619); 4 (1617, 1619); 5 (1619) |
| Newark | 6 (1619); 4 (1626)[50] |
| Lynn | 4(1612) |

Comparing these figures with the results contained in other secondary works, Woodfill, for example, concluded that large towns generally maintained three to five waits, the latter being rarely exceeded.[51] Most of the towns included in the above table conform to this pattern.

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49. A musician named Little joined the York waits on 4 January 1625/6 but he is not listed in the civic records as a member of the company.

50. Five Newark waits played at Winkburn, Nottinghamshire for the Countess of Rutland on 1st May 1591 (HMC Rutland, IV, 400).

51. Woodfill, Musicians in English Society, 46

It has been estimated on the basis of information recorded in the York civic records, that the city employed four or five musicians during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the number increasing to six in 1611. The company was maintained at this level until the outbreak of Civil War.[52] Its size may reflect York's elevated status as the northern capital, and compares favourably with London during the same period.[53]

### 3. Independent musicians

The harsh penalties imposed by the law of vagabondage meant that fewer independent musicians, namely those who lacked the permanent protection of a civic or private patron, risked travelling around the kingdom after 1598. They tended instead to restrict their services to a limited area, living mostly in towns which did not maintain an official company of musicians or where there was sufficient work for them to be employed alongside waits. Independent musicians were usually identified in household accounts by name, their place of origin or the instrument on which they performed. However, in some instances one cannot determine if a patron was hiring waits or an independent band from a particular town. For example, the companies from Skipton, York, Beverley, Doncaster and Hull are referred to in the Clifford accounts both as musicians and waits.[54] In contrast, the bands from Ellerton,

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52. Merryweather, York Music, 164-65

53. Woodfill, Musicians in English Society, 248-49. The Londesborough account for August 1612 includes a reward to seven waits of York. According to the civic records, the company never exceeded six in number. Merryweather suggests that the seventh musician was probably a boy (York Music, 93). With the exception of the Towston company (one man and three boys), the Clifford accounts do not distinguish between adult waits and their apprentices.

54. See Table 4.3. The numbers of musicians involved -- two from Skipton, six or seven from York and four to seven from Hull -- generally tally with the figures contained in Table 4.5. The Cliffords also hired five musicians from Nottingham in 1616. The city is known to have patronised four waits at this time (Woodfill, Musicians in English Society, 94). Very little is known about the repertory of the waits and independent bands cited in Tables 4.3 and 4.5. However, the two- and three-men companies would have performed simple treble and bass settings of popular tunes. The larger bands had the resources to play four- and five-part dances scored for violins, viols or wind instruments such as Holborne's Pavans, Galliards and Almains... (1599).

Pocklington, Barton and Malton in Yorkshire are consistently referred to as 'musicians' which suggests that these towns did not maintain an official company:[55]

**Table 4.5 Independent bands hired by the Cliffords**

| Company | No. of times | Miles from Londesborough | Period of service |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ellerton (Thomas Potts & 2 musicians, Feb. 1618/19)[56] | 2 | 11 | 1618-1619 |
| Pocklington (John Gibson, brother & boy, Feb. 1628/9)[57] | 6 | 4 | 1594-1629 |
| Barton (Stephen Grigges & co. Jan. 1610/11-Mar. 1614)[58] | 8 | 18 | 1611-1614 |
| Malton (2 Willowbys & co. Oct. 1619-Jan. 1619/20)[59] | 2 | 18 | 1619-1620 |
| Richard Lawrence & his musicians | 1 | ? | 1595[60] |
| Old Cuddy & his musicians | 1 | ? | 1595[61] |
| Jerrome & his boys | 1 | ? | 1607[62] |

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In terms of numbers, only the waits of Newark and York and the musicians of Hull and Barton were equipped to perform mixed consorts (violin/viol, flute/recorder, lute, cittern, bandora and bass viol), and of these only the York company is known to have possessed the necessary instrumental resources (Merryweather, York Music, 150-51).

55. Woodfill includes a reference to the waits of Barton-upon-Humber dating from 1572, but suggests that the band which Cumberland hired from this town between 1611 and 1614 was independent (Musicians in English Society, 120). In addition to the bands referred to in Table 4.5 individual musicians such as ballad singers, fiddlers, harpers and pipers were employed in noble households throughout the period.

56. Bolton MSS book 98 f. 131

57. Bolton MSS book 154 f. [13]

58. Bolton MSS book 231 f. 27v, book 59 book 94, book 95 f. 200v. Grigges's band numbered five or six musicians.

59. Bolton MSS book 97 ff. 137v and 140. Willowbys band numbered four or five musicians.

60. Bolton MSS book 216

61. Bolton MSS book 216

62. YAS DD121/36/A2 f. 234v

Rewards to travelling bands of alien musicians are rare in provincial records. A single company of French musicians was employed at Skipton in July 1634 during the wedding festivities of Lady Elizabeth Clifford and Richard Viscount Dungarvan.[63] Independent aliens were more likely to be found in the capital. William Baron Cavendish, for example, hired a French man and boy to play on the lute and to sing on at least two occasions.[64]

## III. REMUNERATION

Owing to the casual nature of their employment, travelling musicians, unlike their household counterparts, enjoyed instant recompense for the entertainment which they provided. Monetary rewards and other perquisites received from noble employers are frequently recorded in private disbursements and caterparcels.

Despite their association with the aristocracy, nominally retained musicians were to all intents and purposes nothing more than independent musicians. They were not maintained financially by their patron but lived at 'the devotion or alms of other men', which in the view of one Elizabethan writer, was 'a kind of beggary'.[65] Waits were assured a basic annual salary from their civic patron, albeit a meagre amount in some instances, which they supplemented with rewards from casual employers. From the beginning of James's reign, for example, members of the London company each received £20 per annum, but the four waits of Nottingham were expected to share 40s.[66] Theoretically, they were less susceptible to the restrictions imposed by the vagrancy laws; though in April 1598, the York waits complained that the recently implemented legislation had severely impaired their earning power:[67]

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63. Bolton MSS book 172 f. 78

64. Hardwick MS 29 p. 364 (2)

65. Anthony Munday (1580), quoted in Woodfill, Musicians in English Society, 66

66. Lasocki, 'Professional Recorder Players in England', I, 123; Woodfill, Musicians in English Society, 94

67. REED York, 479-80

> ...by reason of the statute made at the last parliamente they are prohibited to travile abrode with there instramentes into the countrie as hertofore they have bene accustomed to do, and therby showe without some better allowance or waiges then heretofore they have hade they cannot live and mainteine themselves and there familyes.

It is difficult to assess the validity of their complaint as the records suggest that companies continued to be employed regularly in noble households throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. However, the petition did prompt the city council to reconsider the level of financial provision made for the York waits.

Rewards paid to travelling musicians ranged from a few pence to several pounds, depending on the nature of the service provided. Unsolicited entertainers, such as the two musicians of Craven who played at the gates of Skipton Castle on 7 October 1609, were paid nominal sums.[68] Itinerant bands commissioned to play for an extended period of time received relatively substantial rewards. The five waits of Stamford, for instance, earned £21 6s 8d for twelve weeks' work during the visit and wedding of Viscount Dungarvan plus a gift of 10s from the 4th Earl of Cumberland 'at their parting', equivalent to a gross annual income of nearly £20 each.[69] The Barton and Malton musicians and the York waits regularly hired by the Cliffords during the Christmas season were equally well paid. Each company received £5 for two weeks' attendance.[70]

Woodfill suggested that nominally retained musicians received greater rewards from their own patrons than from other noble employers.[71] Due to the imprecise wording of household accounts, it is difficult to verify this conclusion. If indeed the sum of 10s noted in the June 1607 Hastings account was paid to the 5th Earl of Huntingdon's retainers rather than to household employees, the gift doubled that paid to the bands of the earls of Worcester and Rutland in the same year. However, the entries do not record the circumstances under which

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68. Bolton MSS book 227

69. Bolton MSS book 85 and book 172 f. 78

70. Bolton MSS book 231 f. 27v, book 94 unfoliated leaves after f. 96, book 98 f. 140, book 172 f. 77, book 174 f. 92, book 177 ff. 100 and 266

71. Woodfill, Musicians in English Society, 70

each company was employed.[72] The sum of £6 13s 4d which the 6th Earl of Rutland paid to his own company of travelling musicians at Christmas 1617/8 was considerable. The Grantham waits who were employed at Belvoir in 1607/8 and 1637/8 received only £3 for exactly the same duty.[73]

Noble hospitality extended to peripatetic musicians. The caterparcels for the Clifford household include several entries to waits and other itinerants among the lists of extraordinary guests who received dinner or supper from the earl's kitchen. In September 1607 the waits of York also had a 'fatt buck bestowed on them by his Lo'pp'.[74] The sum of 10s paid to Willowbys company in October 1619 for one week's lodgings suggests that travelling musicians hired for extended periods of service were given money towards the cost of renting accommodation or they were bedded within the household itself, though the records are virtually silent on this subject.[75]

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Despite the restrictions on their freedom to travel, several itinerant musicians continued to follow a nomadic existence during the first half of the seventeenth century. Those who broke the law by failing to obtain a license or the patronage of a nobleman were subject to prosecution. Several musicians were convicted in the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods. For example, an old harper arrested at Maldon, Essex in 1634 had once been employed in a noble household, but was forced to wander from fair to fair with his apprentice and got money 'at divers mens houses of worth...by the use of his harping'.[76]

As Woodfill has suggested, the severity of the 1572 and 1598

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72. Hastings MSS accounts box 6, John Burrowes's account beginning on 23 September 1606

73. HMC Rutland, IV, 514, 462, 529. Both Franklyn and Moone's companies received £6 13s 4d in 1609/10, 1614/15 and 1620/1 which reinforces the view expressed above that they were Rutland retainers (see footnote 26).

74. YAS DD121/36/A2 f. 234

75. Bolton MSS book 97 f. 138

76. Slack, Poverty and Policy, 96

statutes should have discouraged the peregrinations of itinerant musicians, particularly outside those neighbourhoods in which they were well known.[77] The distances covered by waits and independent bands cited in Tables 4.3 and 4.5 respectively support this view. Waits because of their official status enjoyed greater protection and were therefore able to travel over one hundred miles from their place of residence. In contrast, the majority of independent companies hired by the Cliffords journeyed less than twenty miles to Londesborough. However, one cannot generalise on the basis of this limited evidence. For example, the waits hired by the Earl of Devonshire all lived within the vicinity of Hardwick Hall.[78] The Clifford records suggest that the number of vagabond musicians and nominal retainers employed in private households, at least in the north of England, during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries declined at a slower rate than Woodfill concluded on the basis of his research.[79] Just over half of the itinerant musicians who were employed by the earl and his son between 1594 and 1641 were independent or nominally retained.

Travelling singers and instrumentalists continued to play a significant role in the secular musical life of the Jacobean and Caroline noble household, particularly in the provinces where, in some instances, they performed alongside resident musicians. Their repertory was indicative of the broad taste of the English nobility, ranging from simple settings of ballads and country dances, typical of the popular musical culture associated with the lower ranks of English society, to the art music of the court such as mixed and whole consorts, and masquing songs and dances.

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77. Woodfill, Musicians in English Society, 58

78. Hardwick MSS 23 and 29 pp. 735-36, 738

79. Woodfill, op. cit., 233

## CHAPTER FIVE

## MUSICAL AND INSTRUMENTAL RESOURCES

The master was obliged to supply resident servants including musicians with the tools of their trade in order that they might carry out daily and extraordinary duties within and beyond the confines of the noble house. As with the individual skills of professional and amateur musicians employed on a full-time and part-time basis, the musical and instrumental resources provided by the patron reflected his taste in secular and sacred music. The limited survival of contemporary records means that only a partial view can be given of the range of music books and instruments offered to the musicians listed in Appendix III. Nevertheless, it is possible to draw some conclusions about the nature of early seventeenth-century music collecting, the dissemination of printed and manuscript books and the acquisition of English and foreign instruments. Furthermore, it is apparent that musical dedications and instruments, like musicians and apprentices, could serve as bargaining counters in the network of obligations which existed between patrons and clients.

### I. MUSIC BOOKS

Information regarding the ownership of printed and manuscript books survives for less than half the noble families examined, and in most instances the evidence merely hints at the range of their music collections.[1] The eleven inventories set out in Appendix V list English and continental song books, manuscript and printed instrumental

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1. All of the patrons listed in Appendix VI must have received presentation copies of publications dedicated to them; however, few of these have survived. See, for example, the Victoria and Albert Museum tenor part-book from Thomas Yonge's set, Musica Transalpina (1588), the binding of which is decorated with the arms of its dedicatee, Gilbert Lord Talbot (Clements SS20; J.P. Harthan, Bookbindings (rev. ed., 1961), 28). A copy of Attey's The first booke of ayres of foure parts (1622), dedicated to the Earl and Countess of Bridgewater, survives in the Bridgewater book collection, now in the possession of the Huntington Library, but it has not been possible to establish if this was a presentation copy or if the print was acquired by a later generation of the Egerton family.

works, and vocal and instrumental tutors, c. 1570-1660, referred to in a variety of sources including household accounts, library catalogues, inventories, wills and correspondence. Service books (books of common prayer) and psalters (Sternhold and Hopkins's editions and the Middleburg prints) are excluded.[2] The appendix also omits works composed under an earl's patronage where the extant sources do not relate to the household in which the composer was employed.[3]

Table 5.1 is a summary of Appendix V, and includes, for comparative purposes, the musical acquisitions of four other seventeenth-century English collectors. The table does not distinguish between vocal and instrumental music. Several of the books listed in the appendix contain works for both media, including, for example, the Huntington Library part-books EL 25.A.46-51, owned by the Egerton family, and Tobias Hume's The first part of ayres (1605). In some instances the description of a source is too vague to establish whether it was a print or manuscript. Collections such as Lady Bridgewater's 'three bookes of French songes' and 'a French musick booke' are therefore included in column three (prints or manuscripts). Only masque books containing musical settings are entered in the first column (prints). Quires and books of blank manuscript paper are omitted unless the purpose for which they were acquired can be identified. For instance, the reference in the Devonshire inventory to 'a sett of ruled song bookes' is included in the table. 'Tutor' is defined as a practical guide to composition or performance used mainly in the training of amateur pupils or musical apprentices, such as Morley's A plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke (1597), Robinson's The schoole of musicke (1603), Dowland's Andreas Ornithoparcus his Micrologus (1609), Coprario's 'Rules how to compose' (c. 1610) and Ravenscroft's A briefe discourse (1614). Scientific or philosophical works such as Mersenne's Harmonicorum libri (Paris, 1636), dedicated to the Earl of Newcastle's brother, Sir Charles Cavendish II, have been omitted. Such

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2. For details of ownership see Chapter 8, Table 8.1.

3. See, for example, the set of manuscripts containing Hingeston's five- and six-part fantasy suites for viols and organ which were composed for use in the Caroline household of the earls of Cumberland but which were copied and presented to the Oxford music school after 1660 (GB-Oxford, Bodleian Library (Ob) Mus. Sch. MSS D206-11; Hulse, 'John Hingeston', 34).

works are discussed in Chapter 6 in connection with the university education of the English nobility.

Table 5.1 Music books and manuscripts

| Patron | Prints | Manuscripts | Prints or manuscripts | Tutors |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5th Earl of Bath | - | 1 | - | - |
| Countess of Bridgewater | - | - | 4 | - |
| Bridgewater | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| 2nd Earl of Clare | 1 | 1 | 2 | - |
| 4th Earl of Cumberland | - | 'dyvers song bookes and other work' | 1 | - |
| Devonshire | 67 | > 8 | > 13 | 4 |
| Leicester | > 5 | - | 4 | 1 |
| Earl Rivers | 'musicke bookes' | | | |
| 5th Earl of Rutland | - | - | > 6 | - |
| 8th Earl of Rutland | - | - | 1 | - |
| Earl of Salisbury | 'diverse bookes of musicke and songes' | | | |
| 7th Earl of Shrewsbury | 1 | 1 | - | - |
| Westmorland | 3 | - | - | - |
| ********** | | | | |
| John Lord Lumley[4] | c.100 | c.19 | - | - |
| Christopher Baron Hatton[5] | 166 | 12 | - | - |
| Sir Francis Kynaston[6] | 'the best library of musick ms...in the world' | | | |
| Sir Peter Leycester[7] | 29 | 10 | - | 7 |

It is often difficult to ascertain the length of time any one book remained in a family's possession following acquisition. Moreover, in some cases individual ownership within families cannot be established

I am grateful to Dr John Milsom for this information. See also

4. S. Jayne and F.R. Johnson, The Lumley Library: The Catalogue of 1609 (1956), 284-86

5. The numbers of Hatton prints and manuscripts are taken from J. Wainwright, 'The Musical Patronage of Christopher First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)' (Ph.D., Cambridge, in progress), Chapter 2 'The Hatton Music Collection', and include books of definite, very likely and possible Hatton provenance. I am grateful to Jonathan Wainwright for this information.

6. Sheffield University Library Hartlib MSS H50 29/3/64b

7. Cheshire Record Office DLT B88 pp. 50-51

where the primary source of information dates from after the death of a particular collector but contains references to music books published during his lifetime. For example, Tomkins's Songs of 3. 4. 5 and 6 parts (1622) is first mentioned in a library catalogue compiled for the 3rd Earl of Devonshire in c. 1659, but the print was published four years prior to the 1st Earl's death, and may therefore have been in the Cavendish collection for over thirty years. In cases where individual ownership can be established, the collector is identified accordingly in Table 5.1. Furthermore, the surviving evidence does not always permit an accurate assessment of the number of prints or manuscripts owned by individual patrons. For example, the inventory of the 5th Earl of Bath's possessions includes '3 viall bookes' which could apply either to a collection of three-part consorts or to three separate books of music for solo viol.

## 1. Music collectors

By and large late Elizabethan and early Stuart music collectors have remained shadowy figures.[8] Consequently, the scale of the Devonshire and Hatton collections noted in Table 5.1 appears exceptional by contemporary standards. At present there is no means of knowing if they were surpassed by Salisbury's collection of 'diverse bookes of musicke and songes' or by Sir Francis Kynaston's library of manuscripts. Inevitably, our judgement is coloured by the survival of documentary evidence, but we are also hindered by the nature of record-keeping during the seventeenth century. Household accounts, library catalogues and probate records contain limited information regarding music ownership. For instance, the well-known 1602/3 inventory of Sir Thomas Kytson's possessions which formed the basis of Earl Rivers's inheritance twenty-five years later (see Table 5.1), includes a number of vocal and instrumental collections, but it is impossible to identify individual items from this rough list.[9]

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8. A. Hyatt King, Some British Collectors of Music c. 1600-1960 (1960), 10

9. 'Two lewting books covered with lether/ vj bookes covered with pchement, cont$^{g}$ vj setts in a book with songs of iiij, v, vj, vij and viij partes/ v books covered w$^{th}$ pchment, cont$^{g}$ ij setts in a book,

Likewise, household disbursements seldom record in sufficient detail the composer's name and the contents of the print or manuscript acquired. For example, in June 1602 Alice Lady Derby's brother, Robert Baron Spencer of Wormleighton, bought 'a set of Mr Byrdes bokes'.[10] The print in question was probably Psalmes, sonets, and songs (1588) or Songes of sundrie natures (1589), though it is not impossible that Spencer purchased one of Byrd's Latin sacred publications.[11]

The Cavendish accounts are unusual in recording detailed information about Devonshire's music acquisitions. The earl's miserliness, considered a vice by some of his contemporaries, has proved a virtue in the eyes of music historians. Many of the prints and manuscripts have been recorded in the disbursements by composer and/or an abridged title in the knowledge that Devonshire would meticulously check each entry. It has therefore been possible to identify over 70% of the items purchased.[12] Such details were noted in booksellers' bills, but these were usually destroyed once a summary had been entered in an account book.[13]

Library catalogues can also be an unreliable source of musical

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with English songs of iiij, v, and vj partes/ v books, covered with pchment, w$^{th}$ pavines galliards measures, and cuntry dances/ v books of levaultoes and corrantoes/ v old bookes, covered w$^{th}$ pchment, w$^{th}$ songes of v partes/ v bookes covered with blacke lether/ iiij bookes covered w$^{th}$ pchment, w$^{th}$ songes of iiij partes/ v books covered w$^{th}$ pchment, w$^{th}$ pavines and galliards for the consert/ one great booke w$^{ch}$ came from Cadis, covered w$^{th}$ redd lether, and gylt/ v books cont$^{g}$ one sett of Italyan fa-laes' (J. Gage, The History of Antiquities of Hengrave in Suffolk (1822), 24-25). In her will dated 6 June 1628 Lady Elizabeth Kytson bequeathed all her 'musicke bookes to the immediate heire of Hengrave Hall next after my decease...to goe and remayne with the said house for ever' (PRO PROB 11/154/103). The principal beneficiary of the estate was her son-in-law, Earl Rivers, but the will does not specify the contents of Lady Kytson's collection.

10. Ibl Althorp papers A31

11. See Chapter 8, fn. 77

12. Devonshire audited every entry and initialled the total 'W.C.'.

13. The chance survival of Robert Martin's bill of Venetian prints sold to Sir Christopher Hatton in 1638 has provided one of the keys to unlocking the contents of the Hatton collection preserved at Christ Church, Oxford (NRO Finch-Hatton MS 2652).

evidence. During this period they resembled an inventory rather than a detailed bibliographical index. Publication details were omitted. Each entry cited only the author's name and a short title of the work. For example, Luca Marenzio's Il 8° libro de Madrigali a 5 voci (1598 or 1605) is described in the Leicester catalogue as 'Marenzio Canti 8 bis'.[14] Library catalogues rarely included music books apart from scientific or philosophical works.[15] Had Devonshire's household accounts been lost, the catalogues compiled by his librarian, Thomas Hobbes, would have created a very different impression of the size of this collection. Only nine music books are listed in the inventory dating from the late 1620s.[16] Similarly, the 1614/5 catalogue of Robert Cecil's library at Salisbury House which contains over 1000 book titles, simply notes at the end of the philology section 'diverse bookes of musicke and songes'; individual items are not listed.[17] The other catalogues cited in Appendix V (Clare, Leicester and Westmorland) were compiled several years after the publication or likely acquisition

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14. S. Jayne, Library Catalogues of the English Renaissance (Los Angeles, 1956), 30; KAO U1475/Z45/2 f. 109v

15. P. le Huray, 'The fair musick that all creatures made', The Age of Milton, eds C.A. Patrides and R.B. Waddington (1980), 241-72, see esp. p. 242

16. Chatsworth, Hobbes MS E.1.A. Hobbes's catalogue is a shelf list recording the pressmark of each book stored in the Chatsworth library:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Dowlands Art of Musique. fo. | V.0.1 |
| | Morleyes Art of Musique. fol. | V.0.2 |
| <Songe Bookes> | Attey fol. | V.0.3 |
| | Caven. fol. | V.0.4 |
| | Greaves fol. | V.0.5 |
| | Coperario fol. | V.0.6 |
| | Allison, Psalmes fol. | V.0.7 |
| | Wilby, 6 partes 4° | V.0.8 |

Campion's masque at the Earl of Somerset's wedding was shelved among the play texts at V.2.26 (Jayne, Library Catalogues, 31). For a comparable shelf list see Cheshire Record Office DLT B88 pp. 50-51.

17. Salisbury MSS box 'library catalogues' (two copies ff. 26v and 27v). The location of Cecil's music books is not unusual in that music was closely related to philology and the study of ancient authorities in their original language. I am grateful to Penny Gouk for allowing me to read the typescript of her essay 'Music in Seventeenth-century Oxford', The History of the University of Oxford, ed. N. Tyacke (Oxford, forthcoming).

date of the handful of music books which they include. As such they may reflect the limited durability of music books in regular use.[18] Indeed, there is little evidence to suggest that before the Civil War printed or manuscript books of vocal and instrumental music were collected for their aesthetic value or their antiquarian interest. They were practical tools acquired for the use of professional and amateur musicians, and regularly stored in moveable chests.[19] In most instances they have not withstood the vicissitudes of time. One should therefore exercise caution in judging the Devonshire and Hatton collections to be exceptional.

## 2. Dissemination

Prior to the Civil War printing was concentrated in London and the university towns of Oxford and Cambridge. Customers purchasing books in the capital could browse among the stalls located in the precincts of St Paul's Cathedral where recent publications were readily available. Some London booksellers also stocked continental works.[20] Devonshire, for example, purchased music books from John Norton (d. 1612) of the Queen's Arms in St Paul's Churchyard, including seventeen works printed abroad. Six of those acquired in September 1599 were published in Antwerp while of the nine sets of Italian song books bought in September 1604 at least six were printed in Venice.[21] London bookstalls

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18. Ellesmere MS EL 6495; Portland MS PwV4; KAO U1475/Z45/2; NRO W(A) mis. vol. 45 (A)

19. Portland MS PwV4 pp. 186 and 199; Hardwick MS 29 p.267, entry dated April 1612; R. Irwin, The Origins of the English Library (1958), 174; Hyatt King, Some British Collectors, 9

20. F.J. Levy, 'How information spread among the gentry, 1550-1640', JBS, 21/2 (1982), 11-34, see esp. pp. 13-20

21. Norton was one of the most successful capitalists in the booktrade and made regular visits to the Frankfurt book fair, a market exploited by the Venetian music publishers (L. Bianconi, Music in the Seventeenth Century (Cambridge, 1987), 3). His shop was frequented by several major book collectors including the Earl of Salisbury (P.W.M. Blayney, 'The Bookshops in Paul's Cross Churchyard', Occasional Papers of the Bibliographical Society, 5 (1990), 36, 53-54; G. Pollard and A. Ehrman, The Distribution of Books by Catalogue (Roxburghe Club, 1965), 86; DNB, XIV, 671; R.B. McKerrow (ed.), A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers

were sufficiently well-stocked that Devonshire could place several large orders within a short space of time. The account for September 1604 includes three bills numbering fourteen sets of English song books and nine Italian publications.[22]

By the early seventeenth century patrons living in the more remote parts of England had little difficulty in obtaining recent publications from home and abroad. Provincial booksellers, afforded a degree of stability by bookbinding and sales of school texts, service books and stationery, were prepared to stock minority interest publications.[23] John Foster (d. 1616) of Bookbinders Alley in York, the book centre for the northern elite, held accounts with London suppliers, and stocked nearly 3000 prints including vocal works by Dowland, Weelkes, Youll, Allison and East as well as Italian music. Foster could also provide a catalogue of the Frankfurt book fair to customers interested in continental publications.[24]

Furthermore, patrons distanced from the capital maintained a network of 'intelligencers' or friends and clients who kept them informed of political news, court gossip and the latest artistic developments. Correspondents based in London were able to acquire masque texts within days of their performance, sending them into the country or abroad.[25] But the desire for information was not confined to

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of English Books 1557-1640 (1910), 203; Salisbury MSS bills 67B).

22. Hardwick MS 10B, entry dated September 1604, two bills amounting to £8 9s and £2 17s. The cost of printed books appears to have remained stable despite rising inflation. Prices ranged from one to six shillings; see for example, the folio edition of Coprario's Funeral teares (1606) and Wilbye's 1609 part-books The second set of madrigales to 3.4.5 and 6 parts (Appendix V/V, entries dated July 1612 and May 1611; B. Pattison, 'Notes on Early Music Printing', The Library, 4th series 19 (1939), 389-421, see esp. p. 416). Parthenia which was copper-engraved was relatively expensive at eight shillings. Transportation costs did not affect unduly the price of continental publications. Venetian and Dutch prints cost on average less than four shillings each, which compares favourably with English publications (Appendix V/V, entries dated October 1599 and September 1604).

23. For example, the York stationer Roger Jackman was paid in December 1611 for 'byndeing dyvers song bookes and other work' by George Mason (Bolton MSS book 94 f. 183).

24. R. Davies, A Memoir of the York Press (1868), 361

25. See Chapter 7, pp. 233-34

the production of court-based spectacles. Within two months of the king's 1617 reception at Brougham Castle in Westmorland, for example, the 4th Earl of Cumberland's son-in-law wrote to Sir Peter Freschville:[26]

> ...haveinge with some difficulty gotten the booke and songes of his Mat'es entertainment...I doe herewith send yow the same, hopeing that they will give yow contentment both in the poetry and musique wherin yow soe much delight and can soe perfectly judge.

Manuscripts of vocal and instrumental music were circulated in the same manner. Queen Elizabeth's servant, Ferdinando Heybourne, supplied songs to Sir Robert Sidney during his governorship of the Low Countries.[27] In 1602 the Nottinghamshire peer Gilbert Talbot, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, received the manuscript of a 'ditty' written in honour of the queen by Sir Robert Cecil and set to music by the court singer/lutenist Robert Hales. Shrewsbury was privileged to obtain the work, being informed by his court correspondent, 'I do boldly send these things to your Lo' which I wold not do to any els for I hear they are very secrett'.[28]

English instrumental music was disseminated almost exclusively in manuscript form, the notable exceptions in Appendix V being Dowland's Lachrimae (1604), Morley's and Rosseter's prints for broken consort (1599/1611 and 1609), and the keyboard collection Parthenia (1612/3). Several household accounts include references to quires of ruled paper and manuscript leaves bound up into part-books for the use of family members and household musicians.[29] In November 1605 Cavendish bought a pen and ink horn for his servant Ham 'to prick forth lessons with'. The following summer the youth was taught to set music and several ruled books were acquired for his use.[30] Patrons also hired professional scribes to copy music. In December 1605 Cavendish paid a servant of

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26. See Chapter 7, pp. 205-06; J.P. Cooper (ed.), 'Wentworth Papers 1597-1628', Camden Society, 4th series 12 (1973), 104

27. KAO U1475/C12/2, September 1595

28. Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage of Robert Cecil', 35

29. See, for example, KAO U269/A518/3 (Appendix V/I) and Hardwick MSS 10B and 23 (Appendix V/V, entry dated June 1605)

30. Hardwick MSS 23 and 10B

Peter Edney, the royal flautist, to prick '2 bookes for the vyall'.[31]

## II. INSTRUMENTS

Nearly three-quarters of the noble families examined have left some record of their instrumental possessions (see Appendix VII).[32] Compared with music books, private archives paint a more detailed picture of the instruments acquired on behalf of resident musicians and family members, though the scale of evidence varies from one household to another both in its rate of survival and in the nature of its contents. Disbursements record payments for accessories such as strings, bows and pegs, but it is not always possible to determine from these purchases the number and specification of the instruments to which they relate. Furthermore, in the majority of cases such evidence is insufficient to establish precisely for how long a particular instrument remained in working order.

Household inventories are also an inadequate source of information.[33] Since they recorded the contents of a property at a particular time, instruments which were easily transported from one

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31. Hardwick MSS 10B and 23. Ruled quires and part-books were relatively inexpensive, though gold-tooled binding did add considerably to the cost of a manuscript book; see, for example, the 'three great violl bookes with gilt covers' purchased by Salisbury at 28s 6d (Salisbury MSS bills 14/1).

32. In order to chart the development of aristocratic musical taste, references to instruments cited in Appendix VII are grouped into five-year periods from before 1590 to after 1649, labelled 'a' to 'l'. In cases where the evidence is too imprecise to estimate the minimum number of instruments owned, a question mark appears in the respective column. Occasionally the presence of certain instruments is not recorded in consecutive time periods. For example, the references to the citterns owned by the Earl of Devonshire occur only in the years 1600-1604 and 1610-1614. This should be interpreted as unevenness in the survival of source material rather than a lack of interest in the cittern during the intervening years. Furthermore, the time periods represent only a terminus post quem for the acquisition of a particular instrument.

33. Detailed lists of possessions were prepared at the master's discretion, though it was common for an inventory to be drawn up at the time of death in order to assess an estate for probate. The Earl of Westmorland's 1629 inventory which includes the contents of the musicians' chamber at Apethorpe in Northamptonshire is a typical example (NRO W(A) Box 6 parcel v misc. nos 1-2).

house to another often slipped through the net. Organs, harpsichords and virginals, which to all intents and purposes constituted furniture, are mentioned repeatedly whereas lutes and viols are not. For example, only keyboard instruments are cited in the 1612 Hatfield inventory:[34]

> A faire new wynd instrument or organ gilt, standinge in the greatt chamber/ A harpsycall virginall/ A litle paire of virginalles covered with greene vellett.

However, the 2nd Earl of Salisbury inherited several lutes and viols, a bass violin and two Irish harps, which presumably at the time when this document was drawn up were located at Salisbury House on the Strand or were in the possession of the family's servants.

Musicians supplemented the household's resources with their own instruments. In December 1641, for example, a harpsichord belonging to John Hingeston was transported to the Cliffords' property at Skipton.[35] Instruments were acquired on temporary loan from relatives and friends. Peers living in rented accommodation during their attendance at court or parliament borrowed continuo instruments in preference to exposing their own to the hazards of travel by road or sea from a provincial household.[36] Patrons also borrowed instruments from neighbours for a particular occasion. For instance, on 7 March 1619/20 the 4th Earl of Cumberland paid 13s to transport an organ from Normanby Hall, Lord Sheffield's Lincolnshire estate, via the Rivers Trent and Ouse and overland to Londesborough in the East Riding, for use during the visit of Emmanuel Scrope, lord president of the Council in the North.[37]

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34. Salisbury MSS box B/5 f. 14

35. Bolton MSS book 179

36. For example, the Cliffords borrowed keyboard instruments from the Earls of Mulgrave (Hammersmith, November 1630 and July 1631), Arundel (Arundel House, Strand, December 1634) and Pembroke (Baynard's Castle, November 1641) (Bolton MSS book 161, book 173 f. 80 and book 179).

37. Bolton MSS book 98 f. 252. It was during this visit that John Hingeston was hired to play. Cumberland may not have owned a chamber organ prior to this date. In December 1619 he sent Mason and Cressett to Hedon to inspect an instrument (ibid., f. 84v; see also Lbl Althorp papers B1/71b). Cecil borrowed organs for use in Salisbury House from the London patrons Richard Brownlow of Holborne, chief prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas, and Sir Fulke Greville of Austin Fryars (Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage of Robert Cecil', 30).

## 1. Instrument makers, suppliers and repairers

Musical instruments were at once practical tools acquired for the performance of ceremonial and recreational music and conspicuous examples of the patron's wealth, social status, and artistic taste. Instruments were purchased from both the upper and the lower ends of the market. The nobility traded with well-known organ builders, viol makers and luthiers based in London and other major English cities as well as provincial craftsmen whose talents were exploited partly for convenience and partly through a sense of responsibility towards the economic welfare of the local community.

Few references to continental-made instruments survive among the papers of the late Elizabethan and early Stuart nobility, though English lutenists are reputed to have favoured the instruments of Venetian and Bolognese makers, in particular the sixteenth-century luthier, Laux Maller (d. 1552).[38] This growing fascination for old instruments probably stemmed from the French influence of the early Stuart court.[39] In the Intavolatura di liuto, et di chitarrone, libro primo (Bologna, 1623), Alessandro Piccinini noted that the French were buying up old Italian lutes, regardless of their cost, and adapting them for contemporary use.

In contrast to plucked instruments, foreign-made viols were less sought after by the early Stuart nobility. During the mid-sixteenth century a number of professional musicians employed in court circles had played on Italian viols, but as the instrument gained in popularity indigenous makers developed the confidence and skill to design viols of the highest quality. Indeed, by the end of the Tudor period England had

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38. See, for example, Ward, 'A Dowland Miscellany', 116-17. Presumably the newfangled theorbo acquired by the Cliffords during the first decade of James's reign was imported from Italy (see Chapter 7 p. 224).

39. Charles I presented a Laux Maller lute to his servant, Jacques Gaultier (W.J.A. Jonckbloet and J.P.N. Land, Musique et Musiciens au XVII$^{e}$ Siècle. Correspondance et Oeuvres musicales de Constantin Huygens (Leiden, 1882), ccvii-ccx; T. Mace, Musick's Monument (1676/1977), 48).

become a leading centre for viol-making.[40]

Only two of the patrons listed in Appendix I are known to have acquired foreign instruments. The 4th Earl of Cumberland's servant John Earsden who travelled to Italy some time before December 1619, received £10

> ...by my Lo' appoyntment towardes the provyding him some instruments against his retourne for England, his l'p being pleased to bestowe soe much on him for that purpose...[41]

Given Earsden's employment as lutenist to the Clifford household, he was probably commissioned to buy plucked stringed instruments. In 1608 the Dutch merchant, John Haan, supplied the Earl of Salisbury with luxury goods valued at £1,060 including a 'greate winde instrum't', possibly of northern European origin, and 'a table of silver like a picture...a clock in the forme of a turtus and...furniture of fyne silver for a horse'. Gilded by Rowland Buckett, a painter and interior decorator employed by the Cecils, the organ was purchased for the royal wing at Hatfield House designed for James I, and was set up in the great chamber there as a conspicuous example of his host's taste in music and fine arts.[42] (see Plate 2)

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40. I. Woodfield, The Early History of the Viol (Cambridge, 1984), 208. English keyboard instruments were sufficiently highly regarded to be used by merchant companies as bargaining counters in return for trading concessions abroad (I. Woodfield, 'The Keyboard Recital in Oriental Diplomacy, 1520-1620', Journal of the RMA, 115/1 (1990), 33-62, see esp. pp. 37-48).

41. Bolton MSS book 98 f. 251v

42. Salisbury MSS accounts 9/5 and 160/1 ff.18 and 139; L. Stone, 'The Cecils Earls of Salisbury 1590-1733', Family and Fortune (Oxford, 1973), 29. The price of the organ is not stated in the accounts, though it probably cost well in excess of £100, a figure rarely exceeded for a domestic instrument. The others listed in Table 5.2 below, for example, range from £20 to £55, though in their survey of twenty-six counties made in 1634, three members of the Norwich military company referred to 'a fayre stately 500 l. organ' in Sir Arthur Ingram's mansion at York (Lbl Lansdowne MS 213 f. 320). However, this valuation cannot be corroborated (West Yorkshire Archives Services, Leeds, Temple Newsam MSS). Salisbury MSS bills 58/1; Girouard, Life in the English Country House, 115. Salisbury also acquired a portative organ from Haan in April 1609 at a cost of £35 (Salisbury MSS accounts 160/1 f. 42).

Plate 2. The 'Haan' organ, 1609. Hatfield House, Hertfordshire

Organ builders

Religious insecurity and pressure from the puritan faction after the dissolution of the monasteries resulted in the decline of organ building in England in the second half of the sixteenth century. However, the art was revived during the reign of James I, principally through the efforts of two organ-makers, Thomas Dallam and John Burward (Burwood), and continued to flourish in the 1630s and 1640s under John Haward and Dallam's son, Robert.[43] It is therefore not surprising to find all four craftsmen listed in Tables 5.2 and 5.3 ('Instrument makers, suppliers and repairers').

Thomas Dallam was employed to tune and repair organs and other keyboard instruments belonging to the Earl of Salisbury from at least June 1607 to December 1611 at an annual fee of £2.[44] Cecil had met the craftsman towards the end of Elizabeth's reign when Dallam had been commissioned by the Levant Company to make a mechanical organ for Sultan Mehmed III of Turkey.[45] Dallam's work on the organ at King's College Chapel, Cambridge between June 1605 and August 1606 may also have recommended him to the earl who was directly involved in the project though his office as chancellor of the university. Cecil had originally requested the East Anglican knight, Sir Edward Paston, and the mayor and corporation of Sudbury to remove the organ from St Peter's Church to the collegiate chapel; but Paston refused to part with the instrument on the grounds that it had been granted to his father by Henry VIII. Salisbury was therefore obliged to hire Dallam and his men to build a new organ for King's College.[46] It is not known if Salisbury ever commissioned a domestic organ from the English craftsman, though he did purchase from him in April 1608, at a cost of £24, 'a portatyve wynd instrument', possibly one of Dallam's own, which

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43. S. Bicknall, 'The Organ in Britain before 1600 - some observations', Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies (BIOS Journal), 9 (1985), 28-41, see esp. p. 38

44. Salisbury MSS bills 14 and 33, accounts 160/1 ff. 11, 107 and 139, accounts 9/5, box G/13 f. 13v

45. For an account of this commission see Woodfield, 'The Keyboard Recital in Oriental Diplomacy', 41-46.

46. Salisbury MSS vol. 111/47; J. Gairdner and R.H. Brodie (eds), Letters & Papers Foreign and Domestic Henry VIII (1905), XX/1, 55; DNB, V, 392-93

Table 5.2 Instrument makers and suppliers

| Maker/supplier (m/s) | Patron | Instrument | Date | Cost |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Thomas Aldred (m) (London) | William Baron Cavendish | chest of 6 viols | vii.1612 | £12 10s |
| Alred (m) | William Baron Cavendish | bandora | vi.1613 | £2 15s 6d |
| John Coprario (s) | 4th Earl of Cumberland | lyra viol | vii.1614 | £7 |
| Peter Edney (s) | William Baron Cavendish | bass viol | xi.1605 | £5 |
| | Earl of Salisbury | bass viol/violin | ii.1608 | £5 |
| George Gill (m)/ Arthur Gregory | Earl of Salisbury | viol | < ii.1610 | - |
| John Harrison (m) (Ripon) | 4th Earl of Cumberland | treble violin | viii.1612 | £1 10s |
| Houell (?m) | 8th Earl of Rutland | harp | 1657 | £5 15s 6d |
| Cormack MacDermott (s) | Earl of Salisbury | harp | iv.1612 | £10 |
| George Mashrother (?s) (York) | 4th Earl of Cumberland | 7 bows | v.1617 | - |
| | | cittern | v.1611 | < £3 |
| Newport (s) | William Baron Cavendish | lute | iii.1614 | £2 |
| Riley (?s) | William Baron Cavendish | lute | i.1613 | £1 12s |
| Sherley (?m) | 4th Earl of Cumberland | bass viol | iv.1614 | £2 |
| | | old treble viol | vi.1614 | - |
| | | set of bows | vi.1614 | 12s |
| Smyth (m) | 5th Earl of Bath | violin | ii.1652 | £3 5s |
| John Burwood (m) | 6th Earl of Rutland | organ | 1619-1620 | £55 |
| Barward (m) | 5th Earl of Bath | organ | < xi.1646 | £20 |
| Thomas Dallam (m) | Earl of Salisbury | 'portative' organ | iv.1608 | £24 |
| Robert Dallam (m) | 5th Earl of Bath | organ | xi.1641-iii.1642 | £50-60 |
| John Haan (s) | Earl of Salisbury | organ | x.1608 | - |
| | | 'portative' organ | iv.1609 | £35 |
| George Mashrother (?m) | 4th Earl of Cumberland | claviorganum | xii.1620 | - |
| John Loosemore (m) | 5th Countess of Bath | keyboard | < x.1655 | £21 |
| Gowen Read (?m) | 5th Earl of Huntingdon | cornet | ix.1607 | £1 |

Table 5.3 Instrument repairers

| Repairer | Patron | Instrument/s repaired | Date/s |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alred | 5th Earl of Bath | viol | i.1643 |
| John Blackbourne (Nottingham) | 6th Earl of Rutland | cittern, lute | xii.1617 |
| William Comer | 4th Earl of Cumberland | lute | vi.1640 |
| Cormack MacDermott | Earl of Salisbury | harp | v.1607 |
| Newport | William Baron Cavendish | lute | vii.1614 |
| Sherley | 4th Earl of Cumberland | viols | vi.1614 |
| Willoughby | Earl of Clare | lute | vi.1627 |
| Reynold | William Baron Cavendish | trumpet | vi.1614 |
| John Barward<br>Burwood | Earl of Salisbury<br>Dowager Countess of Derby | ? organs<br>organ | ix.1609<br>x.1633-x.1634 |
| George Brownlesse (Yorkshire) | 4th Earl of Cumberland | organ | xi.1624 |
| Thomas Coates (Stamford) | 7th Earl of Rutland | organ | v.1638 |
| Craddock (London) | 4th Earl of Cumberland | organ | xii.1634 |
| Thomas Dallam | Earl of Salisbury | organs, virginal | vi.1607-xii. 1611 |
| [John] Hayward (London) | 4th Earl of Cumberland | harpsichord | xi.1630 |
| John Loosemore (Bishops Nympton) | 5th Earl of Bath | organ, viol | vii-viii.1639, iii.1644 |
| George Mashrother (York) | 4th Earl of Cumberland | organs, viols, lutes, virginal, theorbo | xi.1624 and xi. 1634, v and xi.1617, 1612, xii.1635, iv.1611 |

formerly stood in the Earl of Suffolk's rooms at Whitehall Palace.[47]

John Burward's customers included at least four aristocratic patrons. His earliest surviving private commission dates from June 1619 when he was employed by the 6th Earl of Rutland to build an organ for Belvoir Castle.[48] Work was probably carried out on site, organ pipes and other necessary items being delivered to the castle by a Grantham carrier. Secondary sources list as Burward's only other domestic instrument the two-manual organ built for Sir Thomas Middleton's chapel at Chirk Castle, Denbighshire in the early 1630s.[49] However, in 1646 the 5th Earl and Countess of Bath commissioned an instrument from a maker named 'Mr Barward', probably John Burward himself, at a cost of £20.[50] Like Dallam, he also carried out repairs on behalf of the nobility. In September 1609 he was employed by the Earl of Salisbury 'for removinge of divers instruments & tuning them', and between Michaelmas 1633 and Michaelmas 1634 he received £2 from Alice Dowager Countess of Derby for tuning the organs at Harefield, Middlesex.[51]

Robert Dallam inherited the family business after his father's death, but due to his recusancy he was forced to emigrate to Brittany at the beginning of the Civil War and did not return to his native country until the Restoration.[52] The last instrument thought to be completed by him prior to his departure was the organ at Gloucester Cathedral (1640-41), but it now appears that he was subsequently commissioned to build a domestic instrument at a cost of around £50 for the 5th Earl of Bath's house in North Devon. Dallam arranged for materials to be transported by sea from Gloucester via Appledore to Tawstock, and work was carried out on the organ between November 1641

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47. Salisbury MSS bills 33. Lord chamberlain Suffolk was one of Cecil's closest friends. His daughter, Lady Catherine Howard, married Salisbury's heir, Viscount Cranborne, in 1608.

48. HMC Rutland, IV, 516, 518-19

49. C. Clutton and A. Niland, The British Organ (2nd ed. 1982), 38

50. KAO U269/A518/1, week ending 17 November 1646

51. Salisbury MSS accounts 160/1 f. 42v; Hastings MSS misc. box 1, week ending 9 October 1634

52. M. Cocheril, 'The Dallam's in Brittany', BIOS Journal, 6 (1982), 63-77, see esp. p. 63. Dallam is first mentioned in local records in November 1642.

and March 1642.[53]

Richard Pollard, a senior household officer, reported to Lady Bath on 11 March:[54]

> [John] Lugg the organist of Exeter hath byn heere to trye the goodness of the new organ and gives it a very good comendation to bee sweetest that eyer hee playd upon and that Mr Dallam hath well deserved x$^{li}$ more according to the articles of agreement.

Acting on Lugge's advice, Pollard settled the outstanding sum of £20 the following week, £10 more than the countess had apparently intended Dallam to receive. Lady Bath was furious but Pollard assured her, 'I did not my way transgress from the articles of agreement', excusing his action on the grounds that Dallam was:[55]

> ...soe much troublesom that he swore many fearfull oathes that he would not departe the house before hee had his full bargaine which I beleeve, if wee should have kept hym it would have cost your honour a great deal more.

The 5th Earl and Countess of Bath also patronised John Loosemore, a local maker from Bishops Nympton, situated approximately fifteen miles from Tawstock.[56] Loosemore first appears in local records during the mid-1630s when he carried out repairs at Hartland parish church. Apart from two surviving instruments dating from the 1650s, nothing further is known about his career until 1660 when he worked on the organ at Exeter Cathedral.[57] However, during the intervening years Loosemore was employed occasionally at Tawstock. His initial contract to repair an organ in July/August 1639 coincided with Lady Rachel Fane's arrival in Devon shortly after her marriage to Lord Bath, and in 1655, a year after her husband's death, the countess ordered an instrument from

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53. KAO U269/A525/5, entries dated week ending 20 November 1641, 1st January 1641/2 and 8 January 1641/2

54. KAO U269/C276

55. KAO U269/A525/5 (week ending 19 March 1641/2), U269/C276

56. B.B. Edmonds, 'John Loosemore', BIOS Journal, 5 (1981), 23-32, see esp. p. 24

57. Both instruments -- a virginal preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum and a large organ made for Sir George Trevilyan of Nettleham Court -- date from around 1655 (Edmonds, 'John Loosemore', 27-28).

him.[58]

The Cliffords generally employed local craftsmen. Two Yorkshire makers supplied instruments and carried out repairs at Skipton and Londesborough during the early Stuart period, George Mashrother (Mashrudder, Masseter, Morceter) and George Brownlesse. Both makers have escaped the attention of scholars, but contemporary sources reveal that they were regularly employed by the county elite.[59] They occasionally worked together on specific projects. For example, in November 1624 Mashrother and Brownlesse replaced pipes and tuned the organ at Londesborough.[60] However, none of the keyboards situated in the Cliffords' estates is known to have been built by these Yorkshire makers, though Mashrother did supply the family with a cittern and viol bows.[61]

Viol makers and luthiers

Several English viol makers and luthiers are identified in Tables 5.2 and 5.3, but owing to the poor survival of contemporary instruments only a handful of these craftsmen are known to modern scholars. In addition, household accounts frequently contain the names of suppliers like Coprario, MacDermott and Edney, rather than the

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58. KAO U269/A520/4. In October 1655 Loosemore received £5 of a £21 debt, possibly for a keyboard instrument (U269/A525/10).

59. See, for example, B.B. Edmonds, 'Yorkshire Organ-Builders: The Earlier Years', BIOS Journal, 9 (1985), 42-50, see esp. p. 43. Mashrother also tuned the organ at York Minster, and supplied instruments to the cathedral and to the city's parish churches (REED York, I, 520, 571; Edmonds, 'Yorkshire Organ-Builders', 43).

60. Bolton MSS book 100 ff. 196-97. The organ's tin pipes appear to have been replaced with wooden pipes thus rendering the instrument more suitable for the accompaniment of stringed consort music. Brownlesse also collaborated with Mashrother on the building of an organ for Sir Arthur Ingram's chapel at Sheriff Hutton near York (Temple Newsam MSS TN/SH/A4/15, dated 2 March 1624/5). This instrument was moved from Sheriff Hutton to Temple Newsam near Leeds in 1631 and was eventually set up in the chapel there (ibid., TN/EA/13/14 f. 18; C. Gilbert, 'Light on Sir Arthur Ingram's Reconstruction at Temple Newsam 1622-38', Leeds Art Calendar, 51 (1963), 6-12).

61. Bolton MSS book 94 f.182, book 95 f. 241

identity of the makers whose instruments they sold.[62] John Rose the elder and younger, the most famous English viol makers of the second half of the sixteenth century, are not mentioned in the records examined, though a bass viol preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford which belonged to the 4th Earl of Worcester's son, Sir Charles Somerset, has been attributed to Rose the younger.[63] In 1612 William Baron Cavendish purchased a chest of viols from Thomas Aldred, ranked by Mace along with Rose as one of the best makers 'in the World'.[64] Mace also recommended the craftsmanship of Mr Smith, possibly the maker of a violin sold to Lady Bath in February 1652, though there is very little evidence prior to the Restoration of viol makers building violins.[65] Nothing is known about the Jacobean maker-supplier, Mr Sherley, patronised by the 4th Earl of Cumberland, though he may have been related to or synonymous with the London viol player and composer Joseph Sherley of St Dunstan-in-the-West.[66]

According to Woodfield, the best English viol makers could command

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62. Table 5.2; Salisbury MSS accounts 11/2 and box G/14; Bolton MSS book 95 f. 242v. George Gill and Peter Edney are remembered chiefly for their attempt in 1608/9 to obtain the monopoly for making instruments with sympathetic strings. Edney had supplied viols and violins since at least 1605. Among his customers were Baron Cavendish (viola da gamba, November 1605) and the Earl of Salisbury (bass violin, February 1607/8) (Hardwick MSS 23; Salisbury MSS bills 14/9, endorsed 'basse vyolle'). The latter was also the recipient of an experimental instrument made by Gill some time before February 1609/10. For details see Chapter 6, p. 162. Household musicians may also have carried out minor alterations for their patrons, or at the very least, mediated on their behalf with instrument repairers. For example, in May 1607 MacDermott received 16s from Salisbury 'for putinge of a newe backe to your Lor's harpe and mending of it with plate where it was broken and cutinge the neck shorter' (Salisbury MSS bills 14/20).

63. J. Pringle, 'The founder of English viol-making', Early Music (EM), 6/4 (1978), 501-11, see esp. pp. 508-09; D.D. Boyden, Catalogue of the Hill Collecton of Musical Instruments in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (1969), 9-10. The centre of the table is painted with the coat-of-arms used by Sir Charles.

64. Mace, Musick's Monument, 245. Hardwick MS 29 pp. 269, 321. A 'Mr Alred' hired in January 1642/3 to repair the 5th Earl of Bath's viol may be identified as the maker, Thomas Aldred (KAO U269/A526).

65. KAO U269/A518/3

66. Bolton MSS book 95 ff. 240-41

around £2 for an instrument.[67] This is similar to the prices charged by Aldred and Sherley, though the instruments supplied by Edney and Coprario during the same period were two or three times more expensive. The work of provincial craftsmen was probably cheaper. For instance, the treble violin which Cumberland purchased from John Harrison of Ripon cost £1 12s, half the price of the one made by Mr Smyth. However, the difference in price may be due to inflation over the forty years which separate the acquisition of these violins rather than an indication of their respective quality.

Virtually nothing is known about late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century English lute makers. Newport, Riley and George Mashrother may have been suppliers rather than luthiers.[68] Thomas Aldred, like John Rose the younger, was a maker of 'Bandoras, Voyall de Gamboes and other instruments', and in 1613 he sold a bandora to William Baron Cavendish.[69] William Comer, who in 1640 carried out repairs on a lute belonging to the Cliffords, may have been descended from Comey of Cremona or Coimbra, one of the founding members of the royal violin band.[70]

Instrumental purchases directly from a maker or through a supplier were not the only means by which a patron increased the size of his collection. Second-hand instruments were acquired from other private households. For instance, on 24 October 1628 Isaac Montaigne received a letter from Henry Lord Clifford concerning a claviorganum which Montaigne's recently deceased brother, the Archbishop of York, had left in the episcopal palace at Cawood in Yorkshire:[71]

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67. Woodfield, The Early History of the Viol, 226

68. Newport may be identified with the lutenist employed to teach Sir John Egerton's daughters (see Chapter 6, fns 37 and 39).

69. See J. Stow, Annales (1631 edition), quoted in Pringle, 'The founder of English viol-making', 501

70. P. Holman, 'The English Royal Violin Consort in the Sixteenth Century', Proceedings of the RMA, 109 (1982-83), 39-59, see esp. pp. 42-44

71. Lbl Althorp papers B1/39/1. Clifford could have met the prelate during his employment as household chaplain to the Earl of Salisbury. In December 1620 George Mashrother arranged for 'a virginal

> I shall intreat you to doe me a curteosie if it be in your power and you shall ever fynde me ready to deserte the same. I understand my Lords Grace whose memorie I shall ever reverence had an instrument brought to Cawood this summer which I thinke is in your disposing. It is an organ with a harpsicall and I am the more willinge to buy it, as desyreous to keepe it for his sake whoe was soe great a lover and favourer of musicque and soe constant and worthie a freind to me. It would save me the cariage of one from London where I did intend to bespeake such an instrument.

Clifford was so anxious to acquire the claviorganum that he repeated his offer to Montaigne, desiring him to 'let me knowe howe you valewe it, and I shall speedily give you satisfacion', despite some damage which the instrument had received during its transportation from London.[72]

## III. CURRENCY OF OBLIGATIONS

Gift-giving was an essential part of the operation of patronage.[73] Music instruments, no less than paintings and objets d'art, were considered appropriate gifts in the exchange of favours between patrons and clients.[74] In return for the duty and deference shown to his patron, Matthew Caldicott noted in his will that he had received 'a chest of violles with the armes of my late noble and much honoured lord', Richard Sackville, 3rd Earl of Dorset.[75] Conversely, gifts were

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with a wind instrument in it' to be transported to Londesborough, but there is no evidence that it was ever purchased (Bolton MSS book 99 f. 223v).

72. DNB, XIII, 723-24; Lbl Althorp papers B1/39/4. Patrons also exploited the good offices of fellow courtiers to assist them in the acquisition of musical instruments. For example, early in 1607, Sir John Egerton asked Sir John Davies, attorney-general for Ireland, to send him an Irish harp (C.W. Russell and J.P. Prendergast (eds), Calendar of State Papers (CSP) Ireland 1606-1608 (1874), 128; DNB, V, 592). See also Hulse, 'Sir Michael Hickes', 226

73. Peck, Court Patronage and Corruption, 3, 13-18

74. L.L. Peck, 'The mental world of the Jacobean court: an introduction', The Mental World of the Jacobean Court, ed. L.L. Peck (Cambridge, 1991), 1-17, see esp. p. 11

75. PRO PROB 11/202/41. I am grateful to Alan Davidson of the History of Parliament Trust for this reference.

presented by hopeful clients in order to secure the protection of an influential patron.[76] William Lord Burghley advised his son:[77]

> Be sure ever to keep some great man thy friend, but trouble him not for trifles, compliment him often, present [him] with many yet small gifts and of little charge, and if thou have cause to bestow any great gratuity, let it then be some such thing as may be daily in sight, for otherwise in this ambitious age thou mayest remain like a hop without a pole, live in obscurity, and be made a football for ever insulting companion to spurn at.

The Earl of Salisbury received at least two instruments from clients anxious to enlist his support. Eleanor, Countess of Desmond had appealed to Cecil for his assistance following the attainder and execution of her husband in 1583 which had left her in dire financial straits. Grateful for Cecil's friendship and keen to ensure his continued favour, she wrote to him on 4 September 1597:[78]

> In sending you a harp, humbly praying you to accept the same, the rather that the sending comes from a thankful mind, I humbly crave your letters in my behalf to Sir Henry Walope wherein you shall binde me yet more to you.

Some time before February 1609/10 Salisbury received a viol from Arthur Gregory who had been a client of the Cecil family since the 1580s.[79] In a letter to Sir Michael Hickes, Gregory hinted at the motive which inspired the gift. As one of the customs officers at Lyme, he had suffered financial hardship at the hands of local farmers and had appealed to Salisbury on more than one occasion for his assistance. In order to remind the earl of his plight and to endear him towards his client, Gregory requested that the viol be returned so that

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76. Members of the royal family also received musical gifts from their subjects. For instance, during a royal visit to Kew in December 1595 John Egerton's father bestowed on the queen 'a faire paire of virginales' (KAO U1475/C12/41).

77. Lord Burghley, 'Certain Precepts for the Well Ordering of a Man's Life', Advice to a Son, ed. L.B. Wright (Ithaca, 1962), 12. Burghley's advice was widely disseminated during the first half of the seventeenth century; see, for example, Lord Derby's second letter to his son, Charles Lord Strange (Raines, 'The Stanley Papers, part iii vol. iii', 45).

78. Salisbury MSS vol. 55/15

79. Ibl Lansdowne MS 91 f. 129. Sir Michael Hickes, servant to the Cecil family and Salisbury's friend and confidant for over thirty years, gave a viol to the earl in 1607 (Salisbury MSS bills 14/1).

> I may make it farre better or send an other beyond it: for it displeaseth me to thinck that any man shold have one that I hold excell his L'p for whose love of musick I am in a[n] honnour to do many stranger thinges with my owne handes to please his honnour.[80]

Musical dedications also fell within the currency of obligations, being presented in acknowledgement of past benefits or in the hope of eliciting favour.[81] Appendix VI contains a list of thirty-seven music books dedicated to the earls examined and to members of their immediate family circle. At a time during which few books were published without a dedicatory epistle, the most common reason for dedicating a work was the desire for protection from criticism. In The first set of English madrigals (1598), Wilbye wrote to Sir Charles Cavendish I, 'Everything perswades mee...that your Countenance is a sufficient warrant for them against sharp tongues and unfriendly censures'.[82] However, it is doubtful whether many of the composers who ventured into print were really subject to hostile criticism. The language in which they expressed their fears mostly followed convention.[83]

Office and rank were important factors in choosing an appropriate patron. The sight of an influential dedicatee might persuade a prospective buyer that the collection was worth purchasing. Robert Jones, for instance, noted in The first set of madrigals (1607) dedicated to secretary of state Salisbury, 'those things are most embraced which men find approved by the voice of greatnesse, I therefore, ambitiously thought it best, to single out your Honor, being

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80. Gregory was well aware of Salisbury's taste for exotic toys and novelties, and among the many gifts which he had already presented to the earl were a portable counting house with presses for papers and a perspective glass for use in the secret service (Salisbury MSS vols 37/74 and 25/52).

81. H.S. Bennett, English Books & Readers 1558-1603 (Cambridge, 1965), chpt. ii and English Books and Readers 1603-1640 (Cambridge, 1970), chpt. ii. Also P. Walls, '"Music and Sweet Poetry?" Verse for English Lute Song and Continuo Song', M&L, 65 (1984), 237-54, see esp. pp. 240-41

82. Similarly, the author of a commendatory verse published in Vautor's The first set (1619), dedicated to the Marquess of Buckingham, wrote, '...thou has chose, good Thom, a Patron fit,/ That will defend thee, and safe conduct it.'

83. Bennett, English Books & Readers 1558-1603, 8-10, 36-37

best able to protect them'.[84]

Dedications were also a means of expressing publicly a composer's thanks for past favours or loyalty to a patron's family. In New Citharen Lessons (1609), dedicated to Viscount Cranborne, Thomas Robinson recorded his many obligations to the Cecils:[85]

> Walking in my garden of good will (Right Honourable) I could find no better Flowers, then those that spring from faithful love, bound with the bond of dutie, to make my labours gracious in your thoughts. Love to your Honour,sprung from the roote of your Lord and Grandfathers bountifull and most Honourable kindnesse towards my Father, who was (untill his dying day) his true and obedient Servant. Duetie bindeth me, for that I was my selfe sometimes Servant unto the Right Honourable, Thomas Earle of Excester, your Honours uncle, and alwaies have tasted of the comfortable liberalitie of your Honours Father...

A carefully worded dedicatory epistle could also be the means of gaining money or advancement.[86] In 1595 Thomas Morley dedicated to Sir Robert Cecil The first booke of balletts in both its English and Italian translations, in return for which he received a 'bountiouse reward'. However, Morley must have calculated that the dedication to a key figure in the privy council would increase his chances of obtaining William Byrd's music-printing monopoly, due to expire the following year. The licence was granted to him, but in July 1598 he had to petition for additional clauses to be inserted. Morley reminded Cecil of the dedication three years earlier, and offered to share the profits with his servant, Christopher Heybourne, 'if it please your

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84. In his translation of Andreas Ornithoparcus his Micrologus (1609) Dowland claimed partly to have chosen Salisbury on account of his political position. See also Tomkins's Songs of 3.4.5. and 6. parts (1622), dedicated to the lord chamberlain, the 3rd Earl of Pembroke.

85. Pilkington (Derby), Attey (Bridgewater), Vautor (Buckingham), Robert Dowland (Lisle) and Wilbye (Lady Arbella Stuart) expressed family loyalty to their respective patrons. John Dowland (Salisbury and de Walden), Byrd (Northampton and Cumberland), Farmer (Oxford), Cavendish (Lady Arbella Stuart), Amner (Bath) and Campion (Cumberland) used the opportunity to thank their dedicatees for benefits received either in full-time or part-time service (See Appendix VI).

86. In 1620 the Marquess of Buckingham gave £10 to a musician who presented him with 'a sett of bookes' (PRO SP15/42/40). Price has assumed that Thomas Vautor was the recipient of Buckingham's generosity; however, the evidence is inconclusive (Patrons and Musicians, 185).

Honnore to favore me.'[87]

Non-dedicatees also received gifts of music books and manuscripts from composers, the sole purpose of which was to elicit reward. Thomas Ravenscroft, for instance presented to his cousin, Sir John Egerton, a copy of A briefe discourse (1614), dedicated to Gresham College, which he inscribed:[88]

> Sir, your noble inclinacion to musicke (a science sometimes applauded by peers and princes) together with your goodness and bountie to a poore brother of mine, once your unworthy servant, hath inbouldned mee (the meanest of a name soe much honored by you) to send you this essay of my paines and profficience in that facultie...if you vouchsafe but to grace it or the author with the least glimpse of your honorable favour I shall hould myself aboundantlie recompenced...

Eight of the prints cited in Appendix VI fulsomely record the dedicatee's skill in and knowledge of music.[89] The desire to please or to win favour by obsequiousness was commented upon in several literary sources of the period. In Shakespeare's Timon of Athens (Act I, sc. 2), for example, the philosopher, Apemantus, bemoaned, 'O that men's ears should be/ To counsel deaf, but not to flattery.' Flattery was part of the language of patronage, but the adulatory tone in which the dedicatee was addressed also belonged to the art of rhetorical discourse which formed part of the university curriculum. Nevertheless, beneath the hyperbole of dedications such as Bartlet's A book of ayres (1606), presented to the Earl of Hertford, lay a kernel of truth:

> It is question hardly to be determined...whether Musicke may esteeme herselfe more graced by the singular skil and exquisite knowledge wherwith your Lordship is indued, both in the speculation and practise thereof: or by the many benefites, and infinite favours your Honourable bountie hath conferred on the professors of that faculty.

The nobility accepted dedications partly because society expected

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87. See Chapter 3, p. 58. In his Courtly masking ayres (1621), Adson described the Marquess of Buckingham as the fountain of court patronage.

88. HL Bridgewater 69078. It has not been possible to establish if the books which Joseph Lupo and an unidentified Italian musician presented to Sir Robert Sidney and the 4th Earl of Cumberland respectively were dedicated to their recipients (KAO U1475/A38/1; Bolton MSS book 95 f. 122).

89. Attey (Bridgewater), Wilbye (Cavendish I), Bartlet (Hertford), Robert Dowland (Lisle), John Dowland (Salisbury), Morley (Salisbury), Farmer (Oxford) and Byrd (Northampton)

them to and partly through a genuine interest in music; but their motives were far from selfless.[90] Printed dedications advertised both at home and abroad the patron's musical taste and liberality towards practitioners of the art. Furthermore, in an age when the continuity of the patrilinear family line preyed uppermost on the minds of the English aristocracy, the connection with a published work was a means of 'advaunc[ing] [the] patrons name with high renoune thorowout al posteritie'.[91]

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Taking into account the limitations of the evidence referred to above, it is nevertheless apparent that private musicians were more than adequately provided for with the tools of their trade. Moreover, in some households the quality and value of the musical instruments on which they played were beyond the means of most professional musicians. The range of books and manuscripts listed in Appendix V demonstrates that provincial musical taste did not suffer as a result of the patron's geographical location far from London and the court. The speed with which books printed in the capital and abroad were disseminated throughout England ensured that the latest musical developments reached the county elite, even if personal taste meant that some patrons were slow to adopt the more avant garde styles.

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90. One Caroline author noted that '...bookes should bee protected by such noble patrones whose dispositions and indowments have a sympathy & correspondence with the arguments on which they intreate' (quoted in Bennett, English Books & Readers 1603-1640, 31).

91. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 707; Bennett, English Books & Readers 1558-1603, 33, 37-38

# PART II

# ARISTOCRATIC MUSICAL TASTE

## CHAPTER SIX

## THE MUSICAL EDUCATION OF THE NOBILITY

Prior to the Reformation the sons of the nobility had been taught at home under the guidance of a private tutor, many completing their education through service in a royal, episcopal or great aristocratic household.[1] Considerable emphasis was placed on social and moral learning, though boys were also trained in basic academic skills. Furthermore, at least one late Medieval theorist recommended:[2]

> It is to a godly chyld wel syttynge
> To use disportes of myrthe & plesance
> To harpe or lute or lustely to synge...

By the closing years of Elizabeth's reign household service had declined as a means of educating the nobility.[3] Instead most youths spent a brief period at the universities or the Inns of Court, then travelled abroad in the company of a private tutor or enrolled at a foreign academic institution.[4] Throughout the late Elizabethan and

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1. Orme, From Childhood to Chivalry, 55-60; Mertes, Life in the English Noble Household, 174. See, for example, courtesy books such as Stans puer ad mensam, The Babees Book and Russell's The Boke of Nurture (F.J. Furnivall (ed.), 'Early English Meals and Manners', Early English Text Society (EETS) (1868), 1-83, 250-58, 275-82).

2. F.J. Furnivall (ed.), 'Caxton's Book of Curtesye' (1477-78), EETS, extra series 3 (1868), 31; Orme, ibid., 163-70

3. Some Elizabethan households continued to offer academic training to the sons of the nobility and gentry (Mertes, Life in the English Noble Household, 174). For example, William Lord Burghley, master of the Court of Wards, became the guardian of several minors including the 17th Earl of Oxford and the 3rd Earl of Southampton. Burghley's reputation as a scholar and patron of classical learning also persuaded some of his clients and political allies to entrust part of their children's education to him. Sir Henry Sidney, for instance, arranged for his son, Philip, to spend a brief period in Burghley's care during his student days at Christ Church, Oxford. The 3rd Earl of Huntingdon was also responsible for the education of a number of Elizabethan noblemen including his grand nephew, the 5th Earl of Huntingdon, the 3rd Earl of Bedford and the younger sons of the Earl of Essex (C. Cross, The Puritan Earl: the Life of Henry Hastings, 3rd Earl of Huntingdon (1536-1595) (1966), 52-60).

4. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 683. Daughters, in contrast to their brothers, were educated principally at home, though some in their late teens occasionally served as gentlewomen in a

early Stuart periods musical tuition was widely accepted as an essential part of the nobleman's education, though the degree to which information has survived on the subject varies considerably from one household to another. For instance, the Cavendish papers are relatively informative about the 2nd Earl of Devonshire's musical training. The same cannot be said for the Earl of Bridgewater, though it is clear from the emphasis which he placed on tutoring his offspring in music, from his activities as a patron and from the praise which he received for his 'noble inclinacion to musicke' that Bridgewater was a knowledgeable auditor.[5]

The following analysis of the musical education of the nobility considers not only the earls listed in Appendix I but also their immediate relatives, including siblings, wives and children. Table 6.1 contains details of their vocal and instrumental skills. The dates cited in column four pertain only to the sources listed in column five and not to the overall period during which individuals are known to have performed music. For example, apart from a payment made in January 1642/3 for 'mending your ho'rs viall', there is no other evidence of the 5th Earl of Bath being a violist, though given the range of his musical patronage it is reasonable to assume that he played for most, if not all, of his adult career.

This chapter begins with a brief survey of the educative role accorded to music in contemporary treatises, and continues with an examination of the musical training provided within the noble household and at the exclusively male educational institutions (schools and universities).[6] It concludes with a discussion on foreign travel and investigates England's attempts to establish a royal academy for the

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noble household. For example, in June 1588 the Countess of Rutland placed one of her daughters in the hands of the Countess of Bedford whom she charged to 'form her in such course both for education and maintenance as you may think fit' (HMC Rutland, I, 250).

5. See Thomas Ravenscroft's hand-written dedication on the flyleaf of A briefe discourse, 1614 (HL Early Printed Books, Bridgewater 69078). See also Chapter 5, p 130

6. Some members of the nobility subsequently enrolled at the Inns of Court, but in view of the fact that none of the patrons examined has left any record of his musical activities there, this topic is not considered. For a brief discussion of musical training at the Inns of Court see Price, Patrons and Musicians, 27-31.

Table 6.1 Vocal and instrumental skills

| Earldom | Individual | Voice/Instrument/s | Date | Source/s |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bath | Henry Bourchier, 5th Earl of Bath | viol | 1643 | KAO U269/A526 |
| | Rachel, Countess of Bath | viol | 1642-43 | KAO U269/C273 and A518/1 |
| | | violin | 1652 | KAO U269/A518/3 |
| Bridgewater | Frances Egerton | singing | 1615-24 | Ellesmere MSS EL 263, 320, 324-25, 331; Norwich RO Mc 184/3 |
| | | lute | 1615-16 | Ellesmere MSS EL 264, 320, 324-25, 331 |
| | | bass viol | 1623 | Norwich RO Mc 184/3 |
| | Elizabeth Egerton | singing | < 1622-24 | ibid. |
| | | bass viol | 1623 | ibid. |
| | Alice Egerton | singing | < 1636 | H. Lawes, Ayres and dialogues (1653) |
| | Mary Egerton | singing | < 1636 | ibid. |
| | | viol, lute | 1648 | Lee, The Autobiography of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, 297 |
| Clare | Anne Stanhope, Countess of Clare | lute | < 1627 | NUL NeC 15405 p. 27 |
| | John Holles, 2nd Earl of Clare | lute | < 1657 | Portland MS PwV4 p. 192 |
| Cumberland | George Clifford, 3rd Earl of | gittern | 1571 | Lambeth PL MS 807/2 |
| Cumberland | Lady Anne Clifford | singing, bass viol | 1603 | Clifford, The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford, 27 |
| | | lute | < 1646 | Belcamp portrait, see plate 6 |
| | Henry Lord Clifford | lute | 1610-1614 | PRO SP78 France 56/265; Bolton MSS book 95 f. 24 |
| | | theorbo | 1617 | Bolton MSS book 97 f. 156 |
| Derby | William Stanley, 6th Earl of Derby | orpharion | 1624 | Pilkington, The second set of madrigals (1624) |
| Devonshire | William Cavendish | singing | 1598-1606 | Hardwick MSS 10A and 10B |
| | | treble viol | 1598-1602 | Hardwick MS 10A |
| | | lute | < 1604 | Hardwick MSS 10A and 23 |
| | Frances Cavendish | singing | 1599-1606 | Hardwick MSS 10A and 10B |
| | | viol | 1604-1606 | Hardwick MS 10B |
| Exeter | Thomas Cecil, later Earl of Exeter | virginal | 1555-57 | Salisbury MSS bills 1 |
| | | lute, cittern | 1561-62 | CSP Foreign 1561-2, pp. 112, 172, 396 |
| Hertford | Edward Lord Beauchamp | singing, viol, virginal, lute | 1582 | Seymour papers vol. v f. 186 |
| | Thomas Seymour | singing, viol, virginal, lute | 1582 | ibid. |
| | Jane Seymour | singing | 1655 57 | Seymour papers box VI/i ii |

Table 6.1 contd./

| Earldom | Individual | Voice/Instrument/s | Date | Source/s |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Leicester | Mary Sidney I | lute | 1572-74 | HMC De L'Isle and Dudley MSS, I, 256, 268 |
| | Robert Sidney, later Earl of Leicester | singing | 1575-76 | ibid., I, 269 |
| | Mary Sidney II | virginal | 1595 | KAO U1475/C12/14 |
| | | singing, lute | 1600 | HMC De L'Isle and Dudley MSS, II, 437 |
| | | theorbo | early Jacobean | Penshurst Place portrait |
| Newcastle | Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle | singing, instruments | Caroline | Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, The Life... of William Cavendish, 156 |
| Northampton | Henry Howard, later Earl of Northampton | lute | 1565-70 | Lbl Lansdowne MS 109 f. 116 |
| Rivers | Mary Kytson, later Countess Rivers | virginal | 1574-75 | Hengrave MS 82 (3) f. 190v |
| | Lady Penelope Darcy | singing | 1603 | Hengrave MS 82 (4c) f. 25v |
| Rutland | Lady Elizabeth Manners, later | virginal | 1585-87 | HMC Rutland, I, 185, 289, 223 |
| | Countess of Sunderland | singing | 1592 | ibid., I, 299 |
| | | stump, lute | 1634 | Lbl Add. MS 37343 f. 5v |
| | Lady Manners | lute | 1588 | HMC Rutland, I, 250 |
| | Lady Frances Manners | singing, lute, bass viol | 1600 | HMC Rutland, IV, 432 |
| | Roger Manners, 5th Earl of Rutland | bass viol | 1599 | ibid., 416 |
| | Lady Katherine Manners | lute | 1617 | ibid., 511 |
| | Francis Lord Ros | cittern | 1617 | ibid., 513 |
| | John Manners, 8th Earl of Rutland | bass viol | 1642 43 | ibid., 532 |
| | Lady Frances Manners | guitar | 1643 | ibid., 532 |
| | Lady Grace Manners | guitar | 1653 | ibid., 537 |
| | Lady Margaret Manners | lute | 1653 | ibid., 537 |
| Salisbury | William Cecil, Viscount Cranborne | bass viol | 1605 11 | Salisbury MSS box G/2, accounts 160/1 f. 15, vol. 228/33 |
| | | singing | 1610 | Salisbury MSS vol. 228/32 |
| | | virginal | 1620 | Salisbury MSS box A/3 |
| | Frances Cecil, Lady Clifford | virginal | 1635 | Bolton MSS book 174 f. 155v |
| | Robert Cecil | ? | 1639-40 | Salisbury MSS accounts 36/2 |
| | Philip Cecil | ? | 1639-40 | ibid. |
| | Mary Cecil | singing | 1647 | Salisbury MSS box K/8 f. 20 |
| Shrewsbury | Lady Arbella Stuart | instruments | 1587 | Durant, Bess of Hardwick, 160 |
| Westmorland | Lady Grace Mildmay | singing, lute | >1570-<1617 | Northampton Public Library, Meditations of Lady Grace Mildmay |
| | Rachel Fane (see above, Bath) | | | |
| | Lady Rachel Fane | guitar | 1657 | NRO W(A) misc. vol. 4 f. 133 |
| | Vere Fane | violin | 1659 | ibid., f. 171 |
| Worcester | Sir Charles Somerset | bass viol | c. 1600 | Boyden, Catalogue of the Hill Collection, 9-10 |

education of the ruling elite modelled on the French academies of the late sixteenth century.

## I. THE ROLE OF MUSIC IN EDUCATION

Commenting on the 'use of music' in mid-Elizabethan noble households, Thomas Whythorne noted:[7]

> There be another sort of lovers of music, who do either learn the science [by study without any practice thereof] or to play and sound on musical instruments, or else to sing pricksong for that they would therewith, either set forth God's glory in the Church, or else use it for the same purpose in private houses, or else for their own recreation, and do not otherwise seek to live or further their livings thereby any manner of way. These are to be esteemed and preferred according to their estates, and also according to their skill therein above those who do learn the science, or to play on musical instruments, or else to sing pricksong...to live by or to further their livings thereby. Those that do learn it as aforesaid, for the love they have to the science and not to live by as the others do, these I say are to be accounted among the number of those who the book named The Institution of a Gentleman[8] doth allow to learn music. And also which the book named The Courtier, doth will to learn music, for they would have the great gentlemen, and the courtiers to learn music in that sort, and to that end. Which counsel of those books, the nobility and the worshipful do much follow in these days for many of those estates have schoolmasters in their houses to teach their children both to sing pricksong, and also to play on musical instruments.

Whythorne's account, derived principally from the 1561 English translation of Castiglione's Il Cortegiano and from his own experiences as a music teacher, explores some of the arguments put forward by contemporary theorists on the importance of music in the training of the nobility and gentry.[9]

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7. Osborn, The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne, 245-46

8. Anon., The Institucion of a Gentleman (1555, rep. 1568)

9. Il Cortegiano was translated into English by Sir Thomas Hoby, brother-in-law of William Lord Burghley, and dedicated to the 3rd Earl of Huntingdon (see fn. 3 above). References are taken from Baldesar Castiglione The Book of the Courtier (The Booke of the Courtier), trans. by G. Bull (Harmondsworth, 1967).

Castiglione's manual of court etiquette, one of the most popular texts of the English Renaissance founded on the Ciceronian concept of the ideal orator or the 'cultivated man of affairs', was widely recommended by Elizabethan and early Stuart educationalists.[10] Several of the earls listed in Appendix I owned a copy of this work. In October 1605, for instance, William Baron Cavendish paid £5 to his son for translating The Courtier into Latin and back into English.[11] Castiglione helped to spread the idea of music as a social accomplishment and an appropriate ornament to the aspiring courtier.[12] For example, Sir John Holles, comptroller of Prince Henry's household (1610-1612), included music among those attributes which

> adorne not only, but ar so necessarie to a young gentleman, as who so can not express himself in them as he ought shall be disesteemed and neglected.[13]

Neo-Platonists recommended the cultivation of musical skill for its ethical values. In building character, training the mind for right judgment and shaping the soul rhythmically and harmoniously, music prepared the courtier to be of greater service to his prince.[14] The well-ordering of the human body both physically and mentally was expressed in terms of musica humana, the second of the three categories

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10. D. Baker-Smith, 'Renaissance and Reformation', The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain, III, ed. B. Ford, 2-43, see esp. p. 6. Roger Ascham, for example, commented, 'which booke advisedlie read, and diligentlie folowed, but one year at home in England, would doe young jentleman more good, I wisse than three yeares travell abrode spent in Italy' ('The Scholemaster (1570)', English Works, ed. W.A. Wright (Cambridge, 1904), 218).

11. Hardwick MSS 10B and 23

12. The Book of the Courtier, 42; T. Palmer, Essay of the Meanes how to make our Travailes into Forraine Countries the more Profitable and Honourable (1606), 39-40. Ascham reiterated this view in The Scholemaster: 'To daunce comlie, to singe, and playe of instrumentes cunnyngly...be not onelie cumlie and decent, but also very necessarie for a Courtlie Jentleman to use' (English Works, 216-17). See also the well-known passage in Thomas Morley's A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke (1597) in which Philomathes recounts his musical ignorance (ed. R.A. Harman (New York, 1973), 9).

13. Portland MS PwV2 pp. 49-50. For a comparable view see The Book of the Courtier, 96.

14. N.C. Carpenter, Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities (Norman, 1958), 5, fn. 3; Baker-Smith, 'Renaissance and Reformation', 18

of musical philosophy outlined in Boethius's De Institutione Musica (525), a work of seminal importance throughout the Medieval and Renaissance periods. Furthermore, contemporary theorists argued that the study of music helped the courtier to understand 'the public weal', which, in the words of Thomas Elyot, 'is made of an ordre of estates and degrees, and by reason therof, conteineth in it a perfect harmony.'[15] By using musical imagery as political metaphor, the hierarchical structure of Tudor and early Stuart society was presented as a reflection in microcosm of the natural harmony of the universe or musica mundana, the highest state in Boethius's De Institutione Musica.[16]

Many educationalists, including Whythorne, subscribed to the Aristotelian view that music should be cultivated for its recreational and medicinal qualities in order to relax the body and to refresh the soul.[17] This opinion was shared by several noble amateurs. The Earl of Dorset, for example, claimed that he had patronised musicians because '[they] have often given me, after many longe laboures and paynefull travells of the daye, much recreation and contentation with theire delightefull harmonye.'[18] By reviving the spirits, music was reputed to

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15. T. Elyot, The Boke named The Governour (1531), ed. H.H.S. Croft, 2 vols (1883), I, 43

16. E.M.W. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture (Harmondsworth, 1943); M. Chan, Music in the Theatre of Ben Jonson (Oxford, 1980), 116-137

17. The Book of the Courtier, 94; Ibl Harl. MS 3364, Edward Payton, 'A Discours of Court and Courtiers' (1633), dedicated to James, Duke of Lenox, see esp. ff. 12v-13. In the notes to the frontispiece of Richard Brathwait's The English Gentleman (1630), 'recreation' is described as playing on a viol with a song-book before him. In an earlier treatise Ascham grudgingly admitted, 'if you will nedes graunt scholers pastime and recreation of their mindes, let them use...Musyke, and playing on instrumentes' ('Toxophilus (1545)', English Works, 12).

18. PRO PROB 11/113/1. Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury noted that 'my learning of music was for this end, that I might entertain myself at home & together refresh my mind after my studies to which I was exceedingly inclined' (S.L. Lee (ed.), The Autobiography of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1886), 43). Furthermore, Sir Robert Cecil's brother-in-law was advised during his travels abroad 'at vacant tymes to playe upon the lute or other instrumentes' (J.G. Waller, 'The Lords of Cobham, part 2', Archaeologia Cantiana, 12 (1878), 113-66, see esp. pp. 143-44). See also Robert Jones's dedication to the Earl of

dispel melancholic diseases and increase life expectancy.[19] Thomas Tomkins, for instance, warned Pembroke, the lord chamberlain, of the dangers of over-work in the dedication to Songs of 3.4.5. and 6. parts (1622): 'For though your lordship's imployments be daily yet hath the Day many houres, and if you should bestow all of them on sad and serious matters, you might shorten them.'[20]

Musical recreation and piety were often yoked together in contemporary writings for by refreshing the mind and body the courtier was better able to praise God. Furthermore, knowledge of harmony and proportion which represented the basis of universal order, enabled man to meditate on the divine.[21] Dudley Lord North among others argued that musical settings of the liturgy heightened devotion, being 'fit to elate and prepare the mind to celestiall contemplations.'[22]

John Farmer commented of his patron, the 17th Earl of Oxford, '...using this science as a recreation, your Lordship have overgone most of them that make it a profession.'[23] No doubt Oxford was flattered by the composer's adulation, but the degree to which a nobleman should attain skill in music was a particularly vexed issue.

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Salisbury, The first set of madrigals (1607), and Lbl Lansdowne MS 109 f. 116, Henry Howard to Michael Hickes, n.d.

19. T. Peacham, The Compleat Gentleman (1634), ed. V.B. Heltzel (Ithaca, 1962), 110. See also KAO U1475/C7/8, Philip Sidney to his brother, 18 October 1580

20. Thomas Hobbes, librarian and tutor to the Cavendish family, '...had alwayes bookes of prick-song leing on his table: which at night when he was abed, and the dores made fast, and was sure nobody heard him, he sang aloud (not that he had a very good voice) but for his health's Sake: he did beleeve it did his Lunges good, and conduced much to prolong his life' (O.L. Dick (ed.), Aubrey's Brief Lives (Harmondsworth, 1972), 234-35).

21. Dudley Fenner, A Short and Profitable Treatise of Lawfull and Unlawfull Recreations (1587), quoted in Woodfill, Musicians in English Society, 208; Peacham, The Compleat Gentleman, 116. Theorists believed that the 'audible numerical symbolism [of music] could convey the inaudible cosmic music of the spheres' (K. Pratt, 'Art in the Service of Absolutism: Music at the Courts of Louis XIV and the Kangxi Emperor', The Seventeenth Century, 7/1 (1992), 83-110, see esp. pp. 83-84).

22. Dudley Lord North, A Forest of Varieties (1645), 104-05

23. Farmer, The first set of English madrigals (1599)

The courtier was advised not to put his 'holl studie and felicitie' into music in the belief that it led to wantonness and the neglect of more weighty affairs.[24] Thomas Palmer, for example, was of the opinion that music should be 'rather a qualitie...to grace [the nobleman] in convenient times, and places to be sociable, then a Science whereof men make profession.'[25] The public display of musical skill was considered detrimental on the grounds that it would bring about chaos in the social order. Elyot believed that the audience would forget reverence 'when they beholde [a nobleman] in the similitude of a common servant or minstrell.'[26] His opinion was echoed nearly a century later by Peacham who desired 'not that any noble or gentleman should, save at his private recreation and leisurable hours, prove a master in the same or neglect his more weighty employments'.[27] The courtier was advised instead to be a discerning listener, to 'take his pastime of others then make pastime unto them.'[28]

The educative role of music was much debated in the writings of contemporary theorists. It would be wrong, however, to interpret the reticence of many peers in expressing an opinion on the value of musical training as a sign of disapproval or lack of interest. For example, Price has argued that Lord Burghley 'deprecated the study of music by not mentioning it' in the advices to his sons, going so far as to conclude that 'this seems to have been almost a stimulus to their

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24. Elyot, The Boke named The Governour, 41; Peacham, The Compleat Gentleman, 111

25. Palmer, Essay of the Meanes how to make our Travailes...the more Profitable, 39-40

26. Elyot, The Boke named The Governour, 42. Frederico Fregoso recommended the courtier to perform only in the company of 'dear and familiar friends' and to avoid playing in the presence of a large number of people, especially commoners (The Book of the Courtier, 121).

27. Peacham, The Compleat Gentleman, 111

28. James Cleland, The institution of a young noble man (1607), facs. ed. M. Molyneux (1948), Book 5, chapter 25, p. 230. Elyot preferred the nobleman when listening to professional musicians 'to gyve iugement in the excellencie of their counnynges' (The Boke named The Governour, 42). An excellent understanding of music was subtly linked to the patron-client relationship. The ability to judge other men's actions was central to the courtly ideal and qualified the nobleman for public service.

future musical interests'.[29] But he has failed to grasp the motives which inspired Burghley to compose these instructions. Thomas, for example, was a bitter disappointment to his father. The visit to Paris which occasioned the 1561 advice was a final attempt to make the boy acceptable to the courtly circles he would enter on his return to England. Burghley was more concerned about Thomas's wayward nature than the finer details of his education which he entrusted to the boy's governor, and the wording of his advice justifiably reflects this concern. The document is almost wholly religious. Thomas was to concentrate on prayer and self-examination, and to read commentaries on the Bible. Despite assurances that '[he] will prove such a gentleman as his father may be glad to leave behind', the report from Thomas's governor painted an altogether different picture of dissolute conduct and time ill-spent. At one point Burghley was so wrought with disappointment that he asked for the boy to be locked in prison. With such trials in prospect it is hardly surprising that the niceties of musical education should not have occupied Burghley's thoughts when preparing his instruction.[30]

The high incidence of vocal and instrumental training among the late Elizabethan and early Stuart nobility and the references to Renaissance courtly manuals and the works of classical authors in their household accounts, library catalogues and personal writings suggest that many peers considered practical and theoretical training in music to be an important facet of their own and their children's education.

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29. Price, Patrons and Musicians, 8-9. William Lord Burghley, 'A Memorial for Thomas Cecil (1561)' and 'Certain Precepts..., c. 1584', Advice to a Son, ed. L.B. Wright (Ithaca, 1962), 3-6, 9-13

30. In contrast to his step-brother, Robert fulfilled his father's expectations. His education had been supervised by his mother, Mildred Cooke, a renowned classicist. Written in c. 1584, Burghley's ten precepts, designed to complement the ten commandments, do not comment on his son's education, but consist of 'advertisements and rules for the squaring of thy life as are gained rather by much experience than long reading' ('Certain Precepts', 9). They address issues such as choosing a wife, managing one's household and estate, and using the patron-client relationship to best advantage.

## II. MUSICAL TUITION WITHIN THE NOBLE HOUSEHOLD

### 1. Tutors

Classical studies formed the basis of the curriculum taught within the household under the guidance of a family chaplain or a former university don.[31] Subjects such as modern languages, music and dancing were generally the domain of resident or part-time tutors with a specialist knowledge in these areas. At least thirty noblemen and their relatives received part, if not all, of their musical training at home, the known details of which are set out in Table 6.2 ('Private music tutors').

R.B. stipulated that household musicians should 'teach the Earles children to singe and play upon the base violl, the virginals, lute, bandora or cittern'.[32] Individual duties were rarely accounted for in household disbursements, therefore it is generally difficult to establish which full-time employee was responsible for such tuition. John Attey may have served in the Earl of Bridgewater's band, though the dedication to The first booke of ayres (1622) suggests that he was hired specifically as a resident 'schoolmaster', most of the songs having been composed 'under [Bridgewater's] roofe while I had the happiness to attend the Service of...your daughters'.[33] M. Simon, a French musician in the retinue of Henry Lord Clifford, may have served on a similar basis. He seems to have tutored Clifford on the lute and

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31. Within the noble household family chaplains often doubled in the role of private tutors. Dons from Oxford and Cambridge colleges were also hired, though Sir Robert Sidney was of the opinion that 'our Oxford yong men have seen nothing but the schooles, and need for most thinges them selves to be taught...' (HMC De L'Isle and Dudley MSS, II, 227).

32. Ibl Add. MS 29262 f. 14v

33. Details of Attey's employment no longer survive among the Egerton family papers. Ian Spink states that Attey was still in Bridgewater's service in 1622, but the wording of the dedication implies the contrary (Lawes, Henry', The New Grove, XI, 547).

Table 6.2 Private music tutors

| Earldom | Pupils | Tutor | Voice/Instrument/s | Wages | Dates (< = before; > = after) | Sources |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bath | Rachel, Countess of Bath | [?Charles] Coleman | viol | ? | viii.1643 | RAO U269/A518/1 |
| Bridgewater | Frances Egerton | Mr. Newport | lute | 20s per month | v.1615-xii.1616 | Ellesmere MSS EL 263, 320, 324-5, 331 |
| Bridgewater | Frances Egerton and her sisters | unknown | singing | 40s per month | v.1615-xi.1616 | Ellesmere MSS EL 264, 320, 324-5, 331 |
| Bridgewater | Frances and Elizabeth Egerton | [Henry] Lawes | singing | 22s increased to 33s per month | xii.1622-vii.1624 | Norwich RO Mc 184/3 |
| Bridgewater | 1st Earl of Bridgewater's daughters | John Attey | singing | | < 1622 | Attey, The first booke of ayres of foure parts (1622) |
| Bridgewater | Alice and Mary Egerton | Henry Lawes | singing | - | < 1635/6 | Lawes, Ayres and dialogues for one, two and three voyces (1653) |
| Cumberland | Henry Lord Clifford | M. Simon | lute | - | < vii.-xii.1614 | Bolton MSS book 95 ff.122, 242 |
| Devonshire | William Cavendish | Thomas Banes | singing | 10s per quarter | < i.1598-vi.1606 | Hardwick MSS 10A, 10B |
| | | James Starkey | treble viol | - | x.1598-vii.1602 | Hardwick MS 10A |
| | | Michael Cavendish | ? lute | - | > ix.1604 | Hardwick MSS 10A, 23 |
| Devonshire | Frances Cavendish | Thomas Banes | singing | 10s per quarter | vi.1599-vi.1606 | Hardwick MSS 10A, 10B |
| | | unknown | viol | - | ix.1604- ? | Hardwick MS 10B |
| Exeter | Thomas Cecil | Mr Ellys | virginal | 1s 4d per week | xi.-xii.1555 and xii.1556-ii.1556/7 | Hatfield Salisbury MSS bills 1/6, 15 |
| Hertford | Edward Lord Beauchamp | unknown | ? | - | ii.1569/70 | Seymour MSS vol. v f.20 |
| | | Gilbert Prynne | virginal, singing, viol, lute | - | 1582 | Seymour MSS vol. v f.186 |
| Hertford | Thomas Seymour | unknown | ? | - | n.d. | Seymour MSS vol. v f.23 |
| | | Gilbert Prynne | virginal, singing, viol, lute | - | 1582 | Seymour MSS vol. v f.186 |

Table 8.2 contd./

| Earldom | Pupils | Tutor | Voice/Instrument/s | Wages | Dates (< = before; > = after | Sources |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hertford | Jane Seymour | [Anthony] Roberts | singing | vii.1655 £6 for one month; ii.1655/6 £2 13s 4d for two weeks; vii.1657 £9 for nine weeks | < vii.1655-vii.1657 | Seymour MSS box VI/i-ii |
| Leicester | Sir Robert Sidney's children | unknown | lute, singing | - | 1600 | HMC De L'Isle and Dudley MSS, II, 437 |
| Rivers | Mary Eytson | Cosen | virginal | £3 per quarter | xii.1574-iv.1575 | Hengrave MS 82 (3), f. 190v |
| Rutland | Lady Elizabeth Manners | Symons | virginal | - | 1585-86 | HMC Rutland, I, 185, 189 |
| Rutland | Lady Frances Manners | unknown | guitar | ? 40s per month | 1643 | HMC Rutland, IV, 532 |
| Salisbury | William Cecil | Nicholas Lanier | viol | - | 1605-1607 | Salisbury MSS box C/2 |
| Salisbury | Mary Cecil | [Henry] Lawes | singing | 20s per month | 1647 | Salisbury MSS box E/8 |

possibly other plucked instruments.[34]

Tutors employed on a part-time basis are more easily identified, chiefly because of the manner in which they were remunerated for their services.[35] Among the singing masters whom John Playford recommended in A Musicall Banquet (1651) was the musician and composer Henry Lawes.[36] Lawes was an experienced teacher and during the 1630s and 1640s taught

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34. Clifford may have met Simon during his travels in France in 1610-1612 (see below, pp. 170-71). At least five other noblemen and women may have received vocal and instrumental tuition from resident musicians. The Marquess of Buckingham was educated at home until the age of ten and could have received his initial training from his father's servant, Thomas Vautor, who noted in his 1619 dedicatory epistle that he had been 'a religious observant of your heroique and hopefull vertues, from your Cradle...' (The first set being songs of divers ayres and natures). Lord Cranborne's sister, Frances Cecil, a skilled virginalist, probably studied under her father's servants, William Frost or Thomas Warwick (Bolton MSS book 174 f. 155v). Andrew Markes who was responsible for the repair of Francis Manner's cittern in December 1617 may have taught his master's son to play on this instrument (HMC Rutland, IV, 513). The employment status of Elizabeth Manner's virginal tutor, Symons, is not known. In February 1585/6 the 3rd Earl of Rutland's uncle, Roger Manners, offered the services of his own musician during Symons's absence (HMC Rutland, I, 185, 189). In August 1587 Edward Paston, a kinsman of the Manners family, recommended an organist from Norwich as Symons's replacement whom Price asserts was the composer Thomas Morley (HMC Rutland, I, 223; Patrons and Musicians, 137). Sir Thomas Kytson hired a virginal teacher, one Cosen, for his daughter Mary, the future Countess Rivers, between Christmas 1574 and Easter 1575. Price identifies him as the composer John Cosyn and suggests that he was employed on a 'temporary resident' basis (ibid., 78).

35. On the basis of the limited evidence contained in Table 6.2, one cannot generalise about the employment conditions of part-time professional music teachers, though it is possible to identify some common features from the information cited. Most of the tutors included were rewarded monthly for their services, the level of salary depending on the period during which they were employed and on the number of pupils taught. Mr Ellys, for example, received 16d per week during the mid-1550s for teaching Thomas Cecil and one other boy. The increase in financial remuneration enjoyed by some Jacobean musicians in comparison to their mid-Tudor counterparts which was noted in Chapter 3 is borne out to some extent by the information contained in Table 6.2. The Egerton family's lute tutor, Mr Newport, was paid 20s per month for teaching one pupil in 1615 compared with 8s per month received by Ellys sixty years earlier. Some mid-seventeenth century tutors appear to have commanded much higher salaries. Anthony Roberts received on average 20s per week while Frances Manners's guitar teacher was paid 40s for a month's tuition.

36. P.A. Scholes, The Puritans and Music in England and New England (Oxford, 1934), 166

several noblewomen, including in 1647 the 2nd Earl of Salisbury's daughter, Mary Cecil. However, little is known about his career prior to his appointment to the Chapel Royal on 1st January 1626. The evidence contained in secondary sources is largely circumstantial. Spink, for example, has suggested that Lawes's association with the Egerton family may date from the mid-1610s on the basis of payments made by Thomas Lord Ellesmere to an unidentified singing master between 1st May 1615 and 30 November 1616.[37] Tantalising as this evidence may be, there is no means of proving that Henry Lawes held the post. Indeed, these payments could refer to Attey's employment. However, information contained in the Hobart papers confirms that he taught at least two members of the Egerton family in the early 1620s.[38] The musical education which Frances received under her grandfather's patronage was pursued with no less vigour in her marital home. The household accounts of her husband, the Norfolk baronet, Sir John Hobart, record that between December 1622 and July 1624 both Frances and her younger sister, Elizabeth, received singing lessons from 'Mr Lawes'.[39]

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37. Spink, 'Lawes, Henry', The New Grove, XI, 547; Ellesmere MSS EL 264, 320, 324-25, 331. According to John Berkenhead, Henry Lawes came to London in 1615 and therefore could have been employed by the Egerton family who lived at York House near Charing Cross (W. McClung Evans, Henry Lawes: musician and friend of poets (New York, 1941), 22 fn. 12; Ob MS Rawl. D406, accounts of Morgan Coleman, steward to Sir Thomas Egerton, 1596-97). At the same time as Frances Egerton was receiving singing lessons, Lord Ellesmere hired Mr Newport, a lute teacher, on her behalf. Newport also taught Frances's cousin, Vera Booth, between April 1615 and October 1616 (Ellesmere MSS EL 267, 305, 312, 316).

38. The Henry Lawes employed by the 3rd Earl of Dorset some time before Michaelmas 1621 may possibly have been the musician and composer (KAO U269/A1/6).

39. Norwich Record Office Mc 184/3. Hobart was the son of Sir Henry Hobart, James I's lord chief justice and a colleague of lord chancellor Ellesmere. It is possible that the Hobarts introduced Henry Lawes to the Egerton family. The payments may refer to service in Highgate House, London (now Lauderdale House) rather than at Blickling Hall, the family's Norfolk seat (Lbl Add. MS 28008 ff. 22-34). A bass viol was also purchased for the Egerton sisters, though the accounts do not record the name of their tutor, if indeed they had one (ibid., entry dated 14 February 1622/3). The lutenist Mr Newport who had taught Lady Frances and her cousin, Vera Booth, was hired as tutor to a member of the Hobart family in April-May 1627 (Norwich RO NRS 14649).

Despite his royal commitments, Lawes continued to teach members of the Egerton family throughout the Caroline period. Frances's younger sisters, Alice and Mary, studied singing with the composer prior to their mother's death in March 1635/6.[40] Alice was a particularly dedicated pupil. She partnered Lawes in a number of dramatic devices staged by the family and may have continued under his tutelage until her marriage to the Earl of Carbery in July 1652.

Musicians serving in the King's Musick and the Chapel Royal were forced to seek alternative employment following the disbandment of the royal household towards the end of 1642 and, like Henry Lawes, several made a living from teaching. Rachel, Countess of Bath received tuition on the viol from Mr Coleman, possibly the royal musician Charles Coleman who is known to have taught the instrument during the Caroline period.[41] The French singing master employed by the Marquess of Hertford between 1655 and 1657 may be identified as Anthony Roberts who had served in the household of Henrietta Maria.[42]

Competent amateur musicians in full-time household service were occasionally called upon to teach members of their patron's family. At least two of the tutors responsible for William Cavendish's musical education fall into this category. In addition to classics and foreign

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40. In his 1653 publication, Ayres and Dialogues, dedicated to Alice, Countess of Carbery and Mary Lady Herbert, Lawes recorded that most of the volume had been 'Composed when I was employed by Your ever Honour'd parents to attend your Ladishipps Education in Musick...'. It is not clear if Lawes taught both daughters simultaneously, though Alice was only seven years of age when her sister married Lord Herbert of Cherbury's son in 1627.

41. KAO U269/A518/1. Coleman is included in Playford's list of able masters (Scholes, The Puritans and Music, 166). Among Coleman's pupils prior to the Civil War was the parliamentarian soldier, Colonel John Hutchinson (L. Hutchinson, Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson (1806), 33, 37-39).

42. Seymour papers box VI, the accounts of Amos Walrond for Essex House, London from 25 March 1655 to April 1656 (entries dated 9 July, 27 November 1655, 25 February 1655/6); 25 December 1656 to 25 December 1657 (entry dated 1 July 1657). See also the acquittance dated 3 July 1657 and signed by Hélène Robert (Seymour papers box IX f. 251). Walrond's account for the period 1st April to 25 December 1656 makes no mention of the singing master, though Anthony Roberts is known to have been in France 'upon his owne occasions' during this period, returning to England in October 1656 'to follow his imployments' (Ibl Add. MS 34015 f. 35). I am grateful to Dr Andrew Ashbee for this reference.

languages, the Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury's chaplain, James Starkey, introduced William to the treble viol in September 1598 on which he tutored the boy until his departure in July 1602.[43] William also received singing lessons from Thomas Banes, another of his grandmother's retainers, though it is not clear from the surviving records which office Banes held at Hardwick.[44] Gilbert Prynne, a senior household officer in the Earl of Hertford's employment, was responsible for the musical training of his master's sons, Edward Lord Beauchamp and Thomas Seymour.[45]

## 2. Tuition

The table below is a summary of the information contained in Table 6.1 arranged into ten-year periods, and includes the number of

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43. Hardwick MS 10A. Starkey left Cavendish's employment because of the latter's failure to honour his promise of a living and parish (HMC Salisbury, XII, 584). Shortly before his departure, Starkey had agreed to help Lady Arbella Stuart escape from the confinement imposed on her at Hardwick by her grandmother, Lady Shrewsbury. However, her plan to marry William Seymour, grandson of the Earl of Hertford, was discovered in January 1603, and Starkey who was implicated, committed suicide. For details see D. Durant, Arbella Stuart: A Rival to the Queen (1978), 82-107. Starkey was replaced by another cleric, Thomas Oates, chaplain to Lady Arbella. Oates was clearly musical. In May 1603, for example, he received 'nyne knottes of mynikins for the lute' (Hardwick MS 10B). However, it is not known if he taught William to play on the lute. Oates's successor, Robert Bruen, who was appointed in September 1604, was not responsible for the boy's musical education. Sir William Cavendish's second cousin, the composer Michael Cavendish, appears regularly in the accounts from this time and may have taken charge of William's musical training (Hardwick MS 10B and 23).

44. Banes played and sang with the dowager countess's other servants (Hardwick MS 7 f. 161v and Hardwick MS 8 ff. 107v and 150). He later acquired two more pupils, Frances Cavendish and her companion, Ellinor (Hardwick MSS 10A and 10B). The latter also received lute and viol lessons from one Maynard in 1610 (Hardwick MS 29 p. 218). Her tutor may have been a kinsman of Cavendish's son-in-law, William Baron Maynard, or the lutenist and composer, John Maynard, who was working at St Julian's School in Hertfordshire at this time (The XII Wonders of the World, 1611).

45. Seymour papers vol. v f. 186. The boys were receiving music lessons as early as 1570, but their teacher is unidentified (ibid., ff. 20 and 23). Their classics' tutor, Robert Smyth, whom Jackson suggested was household chaplain, may also have taught music (Jackson, 'Wulfhall and the Seymours', 199; Seymour papers vol. v f. 124).

Table 6.3 Distribution of vocal and instrumental skills among the nobility

| Voice/ Instruments | 1570-79 | 1580-89 | 1590-99 | 1600-09 | 1610-19 | 1620-29 | 1630-39 | 1640-49 | 1650-59 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| cittern | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | |
| orpharion | | | | | | 1 | | | |
| stump | | | | | | | 1 | | |
| lute | 2 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| theorbo | | | | | 2 | | | | |
| guitar | 1 | | | | | | | 1 | 2 |
| virginal | 2 | 3 | 1 | | | | 1 | | |
| viol | | 2 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 2 | | 4 | |
| violin | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| singing | 1 | 2 | 4 | 8 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 2 |

individuals known to have received vocal tuition or to have played on a particular musical instrument during any given decade. It is impossible to chart accurately from this information the changing taste in musical skills acquired by the English nobility during the years c. 1570-1660. For example, the peak in the number of individuals playing on the viol in the decade 1600-1609 is a reflection of the available documentation and does not imply that the instrument reached its apogee in the early Jacobean period. Nevertheless, despite the table's inherent limitations, some conclusions can be drawn about aristocratic musical taste.

In the second half of the sixteenth century wire-strung instruments were particularly favoured by amateur musicians, principally because of the limited degree of skill required to play competently upon them. Writing in c. 1605, R.B. recommended both the cittern and bandora, though the former was already declining in popularity as a suitable instrument for a nobleman. By the early Jacobean period the cittern was commonly associated with barbershops, though some courtiers, including Francis Lord Ros, heir to the 6th Earl of Rutland, continued to play on the instrument well into the seventeenth century.[46]

According to secondary sources, a number of late Elizabethan and early Stuart musical patrons favoured the wire-strung orpharion. Named after Orpheus and Arion, the legendary exponents of the art of accompanied song, the instrument's association with classical antiquity and Platonic love may partly account for its popularity. Also, being tuned identically to the lute meant that the orpharion's repertoire was extensive. For example, it is mentioned as an alternative means of accompaniment in at least nineteen publications printed in England between 1588 and 1630.[47] Of the earls listed in Appendix I, only Sir Robert Sidney and the 6th Earl of Rutland are

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46. J.M. Ward, 'Sprightly & Cheerful Musick: Notes on the cittern, gittern and guitar in 16th- and 17th-century England', Lute Society Journal (LSJ), 21 (1979-81), 36, 40. HMC Rutland, IV, 513. The publication of Thomas Robinson's New Citharen Lessons in 1609 suggests that there was still a market for the instrument among amateur musicians, though there is no evidence that the print's dedicatee, William Lord Cranborne, was a cittern player.

47. R. Headlam Wells, 'The orpharion: Symbol of a humanist ideal', EM. 10/4 (1982), 427-40; D. Gill, 'An Orpharion by John Rose', LSJ, 2 (1960), 32-39

known to have owned an orpharion, while the 6th Earl of Derby composed a pavan for the instrument which was printed in Pilkington's The second set of madrigals and pastorals (1624).[48]

It is evident from Table 6.3 that the lute, even though it demanded greater dexterity than the cittern, was one of the most popular instruments to be played by amateur musicians, particularly women, during the Elizabethan and early Stuart periods. Adrian le Roy's tutor, A briefe and plaine instruction to set all musicke of eight divers tunes in tablature for the lute (1574), one of the earliest manuals printed in England, was dedicated by the publisher to the Earl of Hertford. Thirty years later Robinson's The schoole of musicke (1603), 'wherein is taught, the perfect method, of true fingering of the Lute, Pandora, Orpharion, and Viol de Gamba' was acquired for William Cavendish who was probably receiving music lessons from his kinsman, the composer-lutenist, Michael Cavendish.[49]

Writing to the Earl of Hertford in 1582 on the matter of his sons' education, Gilbert Prynne noted, 'wee use for our chiefest exercise the consort of virginalls and lute which will bringe them to keap time and to have a good eare for the judgment of musicke if they have any mynd to it.'[50] Despite the bias of evidence towards the Elizabethan period, keyboard instruments such as the virginal and harpsichord remained fashionable throughout the first half of the seventeenth century.[51] For example, a virginal stood in the 2nd Earl of Salisbury's bedchamber at Hatfield in 1620.[52] Fifteen years later a virginal belonging to the

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48. See Appendix VII. There is very little evidence for the wire-strung stump, reputedly invented by the royal musician, Daniel Farrant (see below p. 157 and Ward, 'Sprightly and Cheerful Musick', 25 fn. 97).

49. Hardwick MSS 10B and 23. The guitar is found in English sources dating from the mid-sixteenth century onwards; for example, a seven-string instrument is depicted on the early Elizabethan eglantine table at Hardwick Hall (Ward, 'Sprightly and Cheerful Musick', 9). However, the handful of references to the guitar in the papers examined date from the Caroline and Interregnum periods (see Appendix VII).

50. Seymour papers vol. v f. 186

51. The harpsichord made in 1622 by John Hasard (d. 1630) of St Bartholemew behind the Exchange, London which stands in the spangled dressing room at Knole may have been purchased by the 3rd Earl of Dorset or the Earl of Middlesex (G. Jackson-Stops, Knole (1982), 23).

52. Salisbury MSS box A/3

earl's sister, Lady Frances Clifford, was repaired by the Yorkshire instrument maker, George Masseter.[53]

The viol first appeared in noble households in the late 1530s but it was played mainly by professional musicians until the closing decades of Elizabeth's reign.[54] Thereafter, the viol was considered an appropriate instrument for the aspiring courtier. In Shakespeare's Twelfth Night (Act 1, sc. 3), for example, Sir Toby Belch reporting Sir Andrew Aguecheek's qualities, commented that 'he plays o' th' viol-de-gamboys'. The Seymour brothers who were receiving lessons in 1582 are among the earliest known courtier violists. Women were also encouraged to play on the instrument. For example, during a visit to the Countess of Warwick's Hertfordshire estate at North Hall shortly after Michaelmas 1603, Lady Anne Clifford noted that she 'learned to sing and play on the Bass Viol of Jack Jenkins my Aunt's boy.'[55]

The violin was generally not acceptable to a nobleman, probably because of its association with professional musicians. Several peers may have shared the opinion of Anthony Wood's Oxford friends who 'esteemed the violin to be an instrument only belonging to a common fiddler', though by the 1650s Rachel, Countess of Bath and her nephew, Vere Fane, were both playing on the violin.[56]

Perhaps of all musical accomplishments singing was the most attractive to the nobility, principally because it was possible to sing in consort from an early age and with little training.[57] Vocal skills, as Whythorne noted, were also useful in those noble households where the master and his family believed that music 'set forth God's glory in the Church'. Over half the pupils listed in Table 6.2 received tuition from singing masters. Indeed, many of the songbooks recorded in the Devonshire inventory were acquired for the earl's children, including

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53. Bolton MSS book 174 f. 155v

54. Woodfield, The Early History of the Viol, 210-12

55. D.J.H. Clifford (ed.), The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford (1992), 27; A. Ashbee, The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins (1992), I, 22-24

56. A. Clark (ed.), The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, 5 vols (Oxford, 1891-1900), I, 212

57. E.H. Jones, The Performance of English Song 1610-1670 (New York, 1989), 30

Morley's Madrigalls to foure voyces (1594), The first booke of ballets to five voyces (1595) and Canzonets or little short songs to four voyces (1597) and Cavendish's 14 ayres in tabletorie to the lute (1598).

Neither Whythorne nor R.B. mention the branch of theoretical training in music defined by Morley as 'that which teacheth all that may be known in songs either for the understanding of other men's or making of one's own.'[58] There is evidence to suggest that several noble amateurs progressed beyond the basic rudiments of music. Some time before 1617 Sir John Egerton acquired the autograph copy of Coprario's treatise, 'Rules how to compose' (c. 1610).[59] Morley's treatise, A plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke (1597/1608) was purchased by the Cavendish and Sidney families. Philip and his younger brother, Robert Sidney, clearly understood the rules of composition; several of their poems were intended to be sung.[60] Instrumental works by noblemen and gentlemen do survive in manuscript sources, one of the more notable examples being Lord Herbert of Cherbury's lute book.[61] Rachel, Countess of Bath may also have dabbled in composition. In December 1651 she paid £1 3s to Richard Cobb's brother, possibly the Chapel Royal singer, John Cobb, for 'a composing carde'.[62] In the same manner as courtiers were reluctant to step outside the bounds of social expectation by publishing their literary works so musical compositions by aristocratic amateurs rarely survive in print. It is therefore remarkable that the 6th Earl of Derby consented to the publication of his pavan in Pilkington's 1624 collection.

Very little is known about the regularity with which pupils attended music lessons. Two of the boys listed in Table 6.2 have left a

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58. Morley, A Plaine and Easie Introduction, 101. See also L.M. Ruff, 'The Social Significance of the 17th Century English Musical Treatises', The Consort, 26 (1970), 412-22, see esp. p. 412

59. He was also presented with a copy of Ravenscroft's A briefe discourse (1614), an outdated work urging the revival of Medieval time signatures.

60. See Chapter 7, fns 126 and 144

61. J. Craig-McFeely, 'A Can of Worms: Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Lute Book', The Lute, 31 (1991), 20-48

62. KAO U269/A518/3

record of the time devoted to their musical education, though in both instances the evidence refers only to the events on a particular day. On 4 February 1569/70 Edward Lord Beauchamp notified his father that he had worked in the set hours ('horis statutis') on french, arithematic, music, dancing and gladiatorial combat. His younger brother, Thomas Seymour, later reported that he had spent an hour performing a piece of music ('musicae operam navari').[63]

Many noblemen expressed concern about their children's progress in music.[64] On 9 February 1600, for example, Rowland Whyte informed his patron, Sir Robert Sidney, 'they dance, they sing, they play on their lute, and are carefully kept unto yt.'[65] In the letter cited above Lord Beauchamp assured his father, 'I hope your Lordship will understand that I have employed my time well and not badly' ('Ex his spero D' tuam intelligere bonas horas non male colocasse').[66] However, over a decade later Gilbert Prynne wrote to Hertford:[67]

> My L' Beachamp as I have sayd hear to fore will doe well yf he wold geve his mynd unto [music] which is but now and then:

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63. Seymour papers vol. v ff. 20 and 23. I am grateful to Dr Diana Greenway for her assistance in translating these documents.

64. Sir Charles Cavendish I praised his son, the future Earl of Newcastle, for spending part of an inheritance on a singing boy (Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, The Life of...William Cavendish, 105). Lady Newcastle noted that dressage was her husband's prime recreation but that he also enjoyed music, poetry and architecture. Newcastle considered proficiency in music vital to the equestrian. In his book, La Méthode Nouvelle et Invention Extraordinaire de dresser les Chevaux, he commented with regard to the rider's control: 'The hand, thigh, leg, and heel ought always to go together; for example, suppose a man playing upon the lute, and he touches the strings with his left hand, without touching the others with his right, he must make but a very indifferent harmony; but when both hands go together, and in right time, the musick will be good. It is the same with respect to this excellent art; what you mark with your hand should be touched at the same time either with your thigh, leg or heel, or the musick of your work will be bad. We are at present speaking of musick, and he that has not a musical head can never be a good horseman. A horse well dressed moves as true, and keeps as regular time as any musician can' (1743 ed.), 93). The relationship between dressage and music is explored further in the draft copy of Newcastle's treatise (Portland MS PwV21, see, for example, f. 44).

65. HMC De L'Isle and Dudley MSS, II, 437

66. Seymour papers vol. v f. 20

67. ibid., f. 186

> besides he is so longe in learninge of anye new thinge bi hand which I doe verie mutch mervill att for he dothe but littell increas in learninge new and besides hath mutch adoe to kepe his old. For Mr Thomas he is both willinge to doe the best he maye and allso verye apt to take anye thinge by hand: he will learne ii lessons to my lords one yf I wold teache him...I pray God long to continew with the increase of mutch learninge that yett maie be to your honor great comfort. Yf itt myght pleas your honor to gett a good galliard or ii for my Lord Beachamp I myght both hellp my lord in itt & doe my sellf good besydes or any other good songe what shall pleas you honor.

Like Hertford, Sir William Cavendish valued musical accomplishment highly. In October 1598 he gave 10s to his son for mastering his first lesson on the treble viol.[68]

Even allowing for the bias of evidence towards particular families, the high percentage of women listed in Table 6.1 reinforces Richard Mulcaster's claim that 'music is much used, where it is to be had, to the parents' delight' in their education.[69] Most of the daughters in the Manners and Egerton families received some form of musical training during their adolescence. In addition to singing, Cavendish encouraged his daughter, Frances, to play on a musical instrument, and in January 1606 he gave her 20s for learning five lessons on the viol.[70] Robert Burton found that many Jacobean women when they were maids, 'took such pains to sing, play and dance, with such cost and charge to their parents to get those graceful qualities, [but] now being married will

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68. Hardwick MS 10A. Three years later Lady Shrewsbury paid 20s to her band of household musicians for playing in consort with her grandson (Hardwick MS 8 f. 150).

69. Mulcaster, Positions (1581), quoted in D. Cressy, Education in Tudor and Stuart England (1975), 110-11. Playwrights recognised the importance of music in women's education. Lady Would-be, for example, claimed that musical skill is 'Our sex's chiefest ornament' (Ben Jonson, Volpone (1616), Act III sc. 4). Sir Charles Cavendish I noted of his niece, Lady Arbella Stuart, during her first visit to court in 1587 that Lord Burghley spoke 'openly to her commendation, as that she had the French, the Italian, played of instruments, danced, wrought, and writ very fair...' (Durant, Bess of Hardwick, 160).

70. Hardwick MSS 10A, 10B. Not every girl proved to be a diligent pupil. Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland confided in the Countess of Bedford that her daughter's 'education has been barren hitherto, nor has she attained to anything except to play a little on the lute, which now, by her late discontinuance, she has almost forgotten' (HMC Rutland, I, 250).

scarce touch an instrument.'[71] However, not every noblewoman allowed the musical skill acquired to wither through lack of use thereafter. According to one observer, Elizabeth, Countess of Sunderland (daughter of the 4th Earl of Rutland) was 'much delighted with musick and played very well herselfe uppon the stumpe and lute'.[72] Lady Frances Hobart continued her vocal studies with Henry Lawes in her marital home and Rachel, Countess of Bath, in addition to playing on the viol and violin, did much to encourage the development of her husband's musical establishment.[73]

## III. SCHOOLS

Some parents preferred to have their sons communally educated at a local school under the watchful eye of the parish clergy.[74] The vicarage at Billesdon, Leicestershire, for example, served as a school. The local vicar, Anthony Cade, considered himself 'worthy to be employed in the trayning up of some Nobles, and many other Gentlemen of the best...in the learned Tongues, Mathematicall Arts, Musicke, and other Divine and Humane Learning.' Such a curriculum shows that Cade was well aware of the academic and social skills considered necessary

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71. Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy (1621), quoted in D.G.T. Harris, 'Musical Education in Tudor Times 1485-1603', Proceedings of the RMA, 65 (1938-1939), 109-39, see esp. p. 132. See also T. Robinson, The schoole of musicke (1603), sig. Bv. Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle noted, 'As for tutors, although we had for all sorts of virtues, as singing, dancing, playing on music, reading, writing, working and the like, yet we were not strictly kept thereto, they were rather for formality than benefit; for my mother cared not so much for our dancing and fiddling, singing and prating of several languages, as that we should be bred virtuously, modestly, civilly, honourably, and on honest principles' ('A true relation of my birth, breeding and life', The Life of...William Cavendish, 156).

72. Lbl Add. MS 37343 f. 5v

73. Lord Herbert of Cherbury's bequest of his viols and lutes to his daughter-in-law Mary, Lady Frances Hobart's sister and dedicatee of Henry Lawes's Ayres and Dialogues (1653), suggests that she continued to play during her marriage (Lee, The Autobiography of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, 297). See also the Jacobean portrait of Sir Robert Sidney's daughter, Lady Mary Wroth, pictured with a theorbo (illustrated in Price, Patrons and Musicians, 170).

74. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 685

for the courtier. Among his most illustrious and successful pupils was George Villiers, the future Duke of Buckingham, who attended the school between the ages of ten and thirteen years. In his biography of the duke, Sir Henry Wotton specifically drew attention to Buckingham's training in the 'principles of Musick', the wording of which implies that he received a grounding in musical theory under Cade's tutelage.[75]

From the mid-sixteenth century onwards some peers sent their sons to the more exclusive grammar schools in and around London. For instance, William and Henry Cavendish were enrolled at Eton in 1560. During the early 1640s the 2nd Earl of Salisbury's boys, William, Algernon and Philip Cecil, attended Westminster.[76] However, no details survive of any musical training obtained by the individuals examined.[77]

## IV. UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

From the beginning of Elizabeth's reign the nobility began to pursue some part of their education at the universities.[78] The majority lived a semi-autonomous existence within the Oxford and Cambridge colleges, and were often accompanied by a small retinue of family servants. They were taught by a private tutor specifically appointed for the task or placed under the charge of a college fellow. The 3rd Earl of Cumberland, for instance, was tutored in 1571 by John Whitgift, master of Trinity College, Cambridge.[79]

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75. G.J. Cumming, 'The Life and Works of Anthony Cade, B.D., Vicar of Billesdon 1599-1639', Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society, 45 (1969-70), 39-56, see esp. p. 39

76. H. Southern and N.H. Nicholas, 'An Account of the Expenses of the Two Brothers Mr Henry Cavendish and Mr William Cavendish, Sons of Sir William Cavendish of Chatsworth, Knight at Eton College, beginning October 21st, 2nd Elizabeth 1560', Retrospective Review, new series 2 (1828), 149-55; Salisbury MSS accounts 37/1

77. Harris, 'Musical Education in Tudor Times', 120-21

78. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 687. Boys were usually admitted at the age of fourteen or fifteen years.

79. J. and J.A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, pt 1 to 1751, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1922-27), I, 355

## 1. Vocal and instrumental tuition

Music was taught at the universities mainly as a social or recreational pursuit rather than as an academic discipline. At least three of the noblemen listed in Table 6.1 used part of their time at college to acquire vocal and instrumental skills.[80] Practical tuition fell outside the framework of the quadrivium and was therefore the responsibility of private tutors or college musicians. During his apprenticeship to the Earl of Salisbury, Nicholas Lanier was attached to the retinue of William Lord Cranborne and accompanied his patron's son to St John's College, Cambridge where he taught the boy to play on the viol.[81] Not all private tutors were household servants. Henry Howard (the future Earl of Northampton), while a student at Trinity College, Cambridge between 1565 and 1570, wrote to an acquaintance in London requesting a suitable lute teacher:[82]

> ...forasmuche as I am nowe of late very well dysposed to bestowe some ydell time uppon the lute I thought good to request you that yf you canne heare of any commendyde for that qualyty and bente to serve that you wyll send hym to mee whear he shall fynde entertaynment. I pray you make dylygent enquyry after suche a one and retourne me an awnswer by this bearer yf you canne in so shorte tyme...

During his father's second term as lord deputy of Ireland, Philip Sidney was entrusted with the education of his younger brother, Robert. Sidney chose as his tutor Robert Dorsett, canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and drew up a number of precepts which the cleric agreed to follow diligently.[83] Precise details do not survive, though Sidney was as much concerned with his brother's leisurely activities which might 'unfold the riches of his mind' as his academic training. Richard Lant, master of the choristers at Christ Church, was rewarded in January

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80. Shortly after the 3rd Earl of Cumberland was enrolled at Trinity Whitgift purchased on his behalf a 'githern lute' (Lambeth PL MS 807/2; S.R. Maitland, 'Archbishop Whitgift's College Pupils', The British Magazine and Monthly Register of Religious and Ecclesiastical Information, 33 (1848), 17-31, see esp. p. 18). The master's accounts do not record if the earl was receiving instrumental tuition.

81. Salisbury MSS box G/2

82. Lbl Lansdowne MS 109 f. 116

83. Oxford Christ Church MSS typescript English translations, Dorsett to Philip Sidney, 21 June 1575

1575/6 'for his paines taken in teaching [Robert Sidney] to singe'.[84]

**2. Speculative musical theory**

In 1606 Thomas Palmer commented that 'a Gentleman may have the qualitie to play well upon gentlemanlike instruments, without the Science or Arte of any grounds of musicke.'[85] He consciously omitted music from the list of mathematical sciences considered necessary to the courtier, but acknowledged it a 'singular commendation' for any that excell in both theory and performance.[86] As le Huray and others have noted, the gap which existed between practical and speculative music was if anything widening during the decades around 1600.[87] Since the Medieval period music had been taught at the universities as a mathematical discipline and formed part of the liberal arts degree pursued by the nobility. However, in contrast to the professional classes, few noblemen completed the course of study which at Oxford comprised grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic and music, though some had honorary B.A.'s or M.A.'s conferred upon them later in their careers.[88] Courtiers pursuing a non-degree course were under no obligation to attend college lectures, though public disputations were open to all university students regardless of their enrolment status. In a letter to Sir Robert Cecil concerning the education of his son, Roger Morrell, a fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, recommended:[89]

> ...for besides my daily instructing of him privately in my chamber, the public lectures and disputations in the hall will be a great means not only to sharpen his wit and increase his knowledge, but also to whet his desire to his book & to breed

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84. Christ Church MSS Dorsett to Philip Sidney 21 March 1575/6; P.J. Croft (ed.) The Poems of Robert Sidney (Oxford, 1984), 50; HMC De L'Isle and Dudley MSS, I, 269

85. Palmer, Essay of the Meanes how to make our Travailes...the more Profitable and Honourable, 39

86. Palmer, ibid., 40. Forty years earlier Ascham had advised against too much study in the science of music, arithmetic and geometry (the Pythagorean mathemata) in the belief that these subjects 'sharpen mens wittes over moch' ('The Scholemaster', English Works, 190).

87. Le Huray, 'The fair musick that all creatures made', 242-43

88. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 688-90

89. Salisbury MSS vol. 95/125, dated 29 September 1602

in him a love of learning.

By the end of Elizabeth's reign music lectures were regularly cancelled. In an attempt to redress the balance, Oxford university established the Savilian professorships in 1619 and eight years later accepted an endowment from William Heather to provide training in musica speculativa as well as performance. John Allibond, a magister artium of Magdalen College, was appointed to deliver theory lectures in the university's music school, but the post lapsed after his departure in about 1632.[90] Nevertheless, the universities were a major centre for the development of speculative musical theory during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Music was linked to mathematics and the study of ancient Greek and Latin authors. Many of the scholars interested in these disciplines were also involved in the experimental philosophy of the period. Music was increasingly treated as sound and motion, a branch of physics and dynamics.[91]

Even though courtly manuals placed greater emphasis on vocal and instrumental skills there can be little doubt that some educated noblemen were familiar with the role accorded to music in classical and Renaissance philosophy. Described by one historian as 'England's nearest equivalent of a humanist salon since the days of [Thomas] More', Lord Burghley's circle mainly comprised classical scholars, some from his university days at St John's College, Cambridge and relatives: Ascham, Hoby, John Cheke, Sir Anthony Cooke, and his own wife, Mildred, who was responsible for Robert Cecil's education.[92] The Earl of Salisbury's library contained several copies of the complete works of Plato and Aristotle.[93] Morley's dedication in The First Booke of Balletts (1595) implies that he accepted contemporary neo-Platonic justifications for the study of music:

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90. For details see Gouk, 'Music in Seventeenth Century Oxford'.

91. ibid.

92. J. Van Dorsten, 'Mr Secretary Cecil, Patron of Letters', English Studies, 50 (1969), 543-53, see esp. p. 548

93. Salisbury MSS box library catalogues 1614/5. Salisbury was the dedicatee of Lodowick Bryskett's A Discourse of Civill Life: Containing the Ethike Part of Morall Philosophie (1606), a translation of Giraldi's Dialoghi della Vita Civile, which disseminated the classical theories of music.

> Among so many brave and excellent qualities which have enriched that vertuous minde of yours knowing the same also to be much delighted with that of Musicke, which peradventure no lesse than any of the rest hath beene to it as a ladder to the intelligence of higher things: Lo here uppon I have presumed to make offer to the same of these simple Compositions of mine!

Fourteen years later Salisbury was chosen as dedicatee of Dowland's translation, Andreas Ornithoparcus his Micrologus, an early sixteenth-century treatise which among other topics explored Boethian musical philosophy. The German theorist believed that 'he is truely to be called a Musitian, who hath the faculty of speculation and reason, not he that hath onely practicke fashion of singing.'[94] Dowland shared this view and in the dedicatory epistle he commented on Salisbury's excellent understanding of the art of music. If Attey and Bartlet are to be believed, the Earl and Countess of Bridgewater and the Earl of Hertford also qualified as 'true musicians'. In the dedication to The first booke of ayres (1622), Attey commented that the Bridgewaters were 'no strangers either to the Theory or Practicke thereof' while Bartlet recorded in A booke of ayres (1606) Hertford's 'exquisite knowledge in the speculation and practise' of music.

In addition to the metaphysical branch of speculative musical theory the nobility showed increasing interest in the relationship between music and natural philosophy.[95] Salisbury, for example, kept abreast of scientific developments throughout Europe, and like his cousin, Sir Francis Bacon, he may have dabbled in acoustics.[96] He was indirectly involved in the development of the wire-strung lyra viol, an instrument fitted with an extra row of wire strings under the fingerboard which vibrated in sympathy when the main strings were bowed, the idea being to enhance certain harmonics and to make the sound brighter.[97] Salisbury also patronised the architect-engineer,

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94. Quoted in Poulton, John Dowland, 382

95. Smuts, Court Culture, 146-59

96. Bacon, Sylva Sylvarum (1627), The Works of Sir Francis Bacon, eds J. Spedding, R.L. Ellis and D.D. Heath, 6 vols (1858), II, 433

97. A. Otterstedt, 'The Spoon to the Soup: An Approach to the Lyra Viol', Chelys, 20 (1991), 43-51, see esp. p. 48. This invention was attributed to several individuals including the royal musicians, Daniel Farrant, George Gill and Peter Edney (J. Playford, Musicks Recreation (1661); Ashbee, RECM, IV, 22-23). The genuine inventor may have been

Salomon de Caus, who included among his activities the study of music, geometry, mathematics, perspective, painting, science, mechanics and hydraulics.[98]

Peacham's The Compleat Gentleman (1622, rev. ed. 1634) codified the new ideal of the virtuoso or gentlemanly amateur of all the arts and sciences.[99] The frontispiece with its iconographic symbols of 'nobilitas' (military prowess) and 'scientia' (civilian disciplines) represented the perfect courtier.[100] The Earl of Newcastle fulfilled Peacham's ideal, though it was principally his younger brother, Sir Charles Cavendish II, who experimented in musical science during the Caroline and Interregnum periods.[101] Charles's training as a mathematician probably stemmed from the period which he spent at Oxford university, though he is not mentioned in scientific correspondence until the mid-1630s, at which point his reputation was sufficiently well-established among the scientific community for the publisher of the 1636 edition of Mersenne's Harmonicorum libri (Paris) to dedicate

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Arthur Gregory, a Cecil client. According to a letter addressed to Sir Michael Hickes on 25 February 1609/10, Gregory had presented an instrument to Salisbury 'which was made by George Gill & invented by me only to make an evill violl of myne better...the best and fayrest that hath ben ever scene or heard, for sweetnes and lowdnes' (Lbl Lansdowne MS 91 f. 129). Gregory does not specify the nature of his invention, but his partnership with Gill and Edney suggests that he was responsible for the wire-strung lyra viol. (See also P. Holman, '"An Addicion of Wyer Stringes beside the Ordenary Stringes": The Origin of the Baryton', A Companion to Contemporary Musical Thought, eds J. Paynter, R. Orton, P. Seymour and T. Howell (forthcoming). I am grateful to Peter Holman for allowing me to read his typescript.)

98. R. Strong, The Renaissance Garden in England (1979), 103-11

99. See R.L.W. Caudill, 'Some Literary Evidence of the Development of English Virtuoso Interests in the Seventeenth Century, With Particular Reference to the Literature of Travel' (D.Phil., Oxford, 1975), Chapter 1, 'Courtesy Literature: The Virtuoso and his Advisers', 1-40

100. M. Corbett and R. Lightbown, The Comely Frontispiece. The Emblematic Title-page in England 1550-1660 (1979), 162-71. It is surprising that Peacham should have allowed a recorder or shawm to represent music in that wind instruments were not considered appropriate to the nobility.

101. Many of the Serlian-derived fireplaces at Bolsover Castle, for example, are decorated with the symbols of military and civilian disciplines pursued by the earl.

the work to him.[102] The circle of scientists and philosophers patronised by the Cavendish brothers included among others Thomas Hobbes (tutor to the 2nd and 3rd Earls of Devonshire and a regular visitor at Welbeck), Robert Payne (chaplain to the Earl of Newcastle), Marin Mersenne, Réné Descartes and John Pell (professor of mathematics at Amsterdam (1643-46) and Breda (1646-52)).[103] The Cavendish brothers continued their experiments in natural philosophy during the years spent in exile following the royalist defeat at the battle of Marston Moor, and it is from the 1640s and early 1650s that most of Sir Charles's correspondence and writings on musical philosophy can be dated.[104] For example, among the works which he discussed with Pell were Calvisius's Exeritationes musica (Leipzig, 1600, 1609 or 1611), Kircher's Musurgia universalis (Rome, 1650) and Descartes's Musicae compendium (Amsterdam, 1650).[105]

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102. On 12 May 1640 Mersenne wrote to Cavendish concerning his observations in 'le livre de l'harmonie' which he sent to the English gentleman (Lbl Add. MS 4279 f. 142; M. Mersenne, Harmonie Universelle, contenant la theorie et la pratique de la musique (Paris, 1636), 'Nouvelles Observations Physiques et Mathematiques'). Aubrey wrote of Sir Charles, 'he was a little, weake, crooked man and nature having not adapted him for the court nor campe, he betook himselfe to the study of mathematiques, wherein he became a great master' (Brief Lives, 155). See also Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, The Life of...William Cavendish, 58

103. J. Jacquot, 'Sir Charles Cavendish and his learned friends', Annals of Science, 8 (1952), 13-27, 175-91. Hobbes's patron, the 2nd Earl of Devonshire, may also have been interested in natural philosophy. The earl was a close friend of Sir Francis Bacon and recommended a number of his works to the Italian humanist, Fra Fulgenzio Micanzio (Spedding, Ellis and Heath, The Letters and the Life of Sir Francis Bacon, 7 vols (1861-1874), VII, 542. Lbl Add. MS 11309, Micanzio to William Cavendish, correspondence dating from the 1610s. Cavendish's replies were destroyed in a fire at the Servi Convent, Venice in 1673).

104. See Lbl Harl. MS 6001 (ff. 1-17, 57), Harl. MS 6083 (ff. 58, 68, 107, 345, 348) and Add. MSS 4278 and 4280

105. The brothers' interest in musical science and their patronage of several Roman Catholic priests experimenting in the new philosophy, including Derand and Mersenne, may partly explain Newcastle's employment of the jesuit musician, Christopher Simpson, who studied philosophy and metaphysics at the English college in Rome (M. Urquhart, 'Was Christopher Simpson a jesuit?', Chelys (forthcoming, 1992). Both in The Division Violist (1659) and The Compendium of Practical Music, of which the 1667 edition was dedicated to Newcastle,

## V. FOREIGN TRAVEL

Although Cranborne's affiliation with St John's College, Cambridge lasted for the best part of five years, Salisbury criticised his son's tutors in 1607 for imposing a scholastic discipline beyond the boy's comprehension, and suggested that his time would have been better spent in acquiring languages, mathematics, music or any other gentlemanlike quality.[106] Salisbury's disenchantment with the curriculum's 'old dry exercises' was shared by several of his contemporaries. While it is true that more noblemen frequented the universities during the Elizabethan and early Stuart periods than earlier, there were certain drawbacks for students not pursuing a degree. The major source of dissatisfaction was the limited range of subjects taught, particularly at a time when courtly qualities were considered more important to a nobleman's advancement than classical learning.[107] A brief collegiate education was therefore followed or, in some instances, replaced by a continental tour lasting between two and three years.

Foreign travel was perceived as the ideal finishing school for the aspiring courtier. A nobleman wishing to enter public service required knowledge of European languages, politics and customs. The household of Prince Henry, for example, was made up mostly of courtiers who had travelled or resided abroad, particularly in France and Italy, the principal 'host' countries during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Sir John Holles, comptroller to the prince, had served in military campaigns in the Netherlands, Hungary and Ireland, and in the course of his travels, he had 'viewed and observed the best Parts of France and Italy; both of which languages he was Master of, and reasonably well of the Spanish'.[108] Holles earnestly believed in

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Simpson refers to the writings of Kepler, Kircher and Descartes.

106. Salisbury MSS vol. 228/14

107. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 687. The narrowness of the curriculum was seized upon by those who supported the founding of a royal academy in which noblemen and gentlemen would receive training in subjects appropriate to a courtier. The fortunes of this venture are discussed below.

108. Strong, Henry Prince of Wales, 29. For the cosmopolitan outlook of Henry's court see Chapter 7, pp. 219-20.

the virtues of foreign travel. In 1603 the 4th Earl of Huntingdon sought his advice about the education of his grandson, Henry Lord Hastings. In Holles's view, the young nobleman was ill-equipped for the court:[109]

> I doute not but your Lo'pp could be better contented to spare him a little abroad where it would be much less expensive and to his person and understanding more profitable for besides the languages and other knowledges for the mind which to a nobleman are the greater ornaments as by them he is made more serviceable to his prince and country my Lord Hastings shall reap a peculiar fruit, his body shall be better fashioned, his spirits by diversity of conversation and objects quickened, and his discourse well stored and enriched. By which means both the King will more respect him and the court more honour him.

The attainment of courtly accomplishments, including riding, weapon-handling, dancing, and music, was an essential part of foreign travel. Palmer, for example, recommended residence abroad in order to practise 'the qualities of ornation'. He believed that a traveller should be informed about the music of other nations and suggested studying briefly with a foreign virtuoso.[110]

Table 6.4 Musical tuition abroad

| Individual | Destination | Dates | Musical training |
|---|---|---|---|
| Thomas Cecil | Paris | 1561-62 | lute, cittern |
| Philip Sidney | Venice | 1573-74 | speculative theory |
| Robert Sidney | Strasbourg | 1579-80 | music |
| William Lord Cranborne | France, Italy | 1608-11 | viol, singing |
| Henry Lord Clifford | France (mainly Paris) | 1610-12 | lute |
| Robert and Philip Cecil | France (mainly Paris) | 1639-40 | music |

The destination of English travellers depended on political stability abroad. Catholic Europe posed difficulties for Elizabethan protestants. The government strongly advised against visiting Rome and

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109. HMC Portland, IX, 78-79. Not everyone shared Holles's opinion; Bishop Joseph Hall, for example, was a fierce opponent of foreign travel (Quo Vadis? A Just Censure of Travel (1617), 39).

110. Palmer, Essay of the Meanes how to make our Travailes...the more Profitable and Honourable, 38; J.W. Stoye, English Travellers Abroad 1604-1667 (rev. ed., 1989), 41

the papal states for fear of popery and molestation by the Inquisition.[111] English peers recognised the cultural dominance of Italy but some considered it wiser to admire the Italian Renaissance from a safe distance. Lord Burghley, for instance, was of the opinion that one learned nothing in Italy but 'pride, blasphemy and atheism'.[112] Yet despite the intensity of religious and political conflict abroad during the second half of the sixteenth century, Englishmen continued to cross the Alps.

The Venetian Republic because of its independence from papal intervention was regarded as a safe haven for the protestant traveller; its proximity to the great university town of Padua particularly attracted foreign students. Gilbert Lord Talbot and his step-brother, Henry Cavendish, studied at Padua in 1570. Talbot believed that the university would serve him well for his studies. Little is known about the curriculum which he pursued, though the period which he spent abroad fostered his taste for things Italian, including architecture and music.[113]

Another English courtier and musical patron who spent some time in the Venetian Republic was Philip Sidney. In May 1572 he was granted a licence to travel abroad 'for his attaining the knowledge of foreign languages'. Initially Sidney lodged at Paris where he met Hubert Languet who was to exert a considerable influence on his education.[114]

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111. Passports issued to English travellers intending to visit Italy usually exclude the Vatican city.

112. G. B. Parks, 'The Decline and Fall of the English Renaissance Admiration of Italy', Huntington Library Quarterly (Hunt. Lib. Q.), 31 (1967-68), 341-57; C. Howard, English Travellers of the Renaissance (1914), 73. Roger Ascham favoured the language and learning of Italy but in the educational treatise which he wrote for Sir Richard Sackville's grandson he advised against Italian travel, condemning the country for all manner of vice ('The Scholemaster', English Works, 222-37). Despite seeking Ascham's views 'concernyng the fansie that many yong Ientlemen of England have to trauell abroad, and namely to lead a long lyfe in Italie', Sackville's heir, the future Earl of Dorset, travelled in that country during the early 1560s (ibid., 223; DNB, XVII, 587).

113. Lambeth PL MS 3206 f. 571; see Chapter 7, pp. 215-16

114. Languet, who was educated in Paris and Padua and who served a number of German princes in a diplomatic capacity, was the ideal mentor because of his extensive knowledge of Europe.

Following his arrival in Venice towards the end of 1573, Sidney wrote to Languet, 'I am studying the sphere and certain musical subjects', which suggests that he was receiving tuition in speculative musical theory.[115]

Sidney recommended foreign travel to his brother Robert in the belief that it would render him more serviceable to his country, and chose his old friend, Languet, as tutor.[116] The future Earl of Leicester did not visit Italy but spent a year at Strasbourg (1579-80) during which time Sidney advised him to 'take a delight to keepe and increase your musick'.[117]

France was considered the ideal destination for the courtier seeking a social education. In 1561 Lord Burghley placed his son Thomas in the charge of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton at Paris, meaning 'not to have him scholarly learned but civilly trained'.[118] Throckmorton wrote to Burghley on 16 May that until Thomas began his studies he should learn to ride, to play on the lute, to dance, to play tennis, and other such exercises 'as are noted ornaments to courtiers'.[119] By November a curriculum of study had been devised; each afternoon at three o'clock Thomas received lessons on the lute, and

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115. J. M. Osborn, Young Philip Sidney 1572-1577 (New Haven, 1972), 121. On the basis of a comment which Sidney made to his brother regarding the medicinal qualities of music ('...yow will not beleive what a want I finde of it in my Melancholie times'), several historians have presumed that he was unable to play an instrument (KAO U1475/C7/8; Price, Patrons and Musicians, 171; B. Pattison, 'Sir Philip Sidney and Music', M&L, 15 (1934), 75-81, see esp. p. 76). However, in my opinion, this is to misinterpret the meaning of 'want'. Furthermore, in view of the practical training which his siblings received, it is unlikely that Sir Henry would not have encouraged his eldest son to sing or play. See Chapter 7, fn. 126

116. A. Feuillerat (ed.), The Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1922-26), III, 125

117. KAO U1475/C7/8

118. L.B. Wright (ed.), Advice to a Son (Ithaca, 1962), xiv

119. J. Stevenson (ed.) Calendar of State Papers Foreign 1561-2 (CSP Foreign) (1866), 112

after supper he amused himself by playing music or reading.[120]

The number of Englishmen travelling to the continent increased during the early seventeenth century. This was due in part to the 1604 peace treaty with Spain. Furthermore, Venice had established diplomatic relations with England after the treaty of Vervins (1598). The pacification of France c. 1600 was also a major contributory factor, though there was a brief period of uncertainty in the minds of English travellers following the assassination of Henri IV on 14 May 1610. The greater freedom of access to mainland Europe contributed towards the cosmopolitan outlook of the early Stuart court which in turn encouraged members of the nobility and gentry to finish their education abroad.

Cranborne travelled to France in December 1608 in the company of his brother-in-law, Thomas Howard, and two tutors, Dr Matthew Lister and John Finet.[121] Among the belongings assembled for use in their travels was a viol purchased on Cranborne's behalf by Nicholas Lanier.[122] In April 1610 Cranborne wrote to his father to ask if he could take Lanier into Italy 'by reason of a desire I have to learne on the vio[l] while I am there having noe other exersises to doe by reason of the heate'.[123] Salisbury agreed but the planned journey was postponed due to the death of Henri IV, and Cranborne returned immediately to England.[124] He set off for Italy the following autumn,

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120. CSP Foreign 1561-2, 396. On 10 July Throckmorton notified Cecil that Thomas preferred the cittern to the lute, though he seems to have changed his mind (ibid., 172).

121. Cranborne was not a diligent student. In about 1610 Salisbury wrote to his son, 'Commend me kyndly to Sir Thomas Howard of whose learninge I would to God you had as much as I know you have of his love' (Lbl Egerton MS 1525 ff. 33-34v).

122. Salisbury MSS accounts 160/1 f. 15

123. Salisbury MSS vol. 228/33. Cranborne's request has led to much speculation about the dating of Lanier's acquaintance with the Italian monodic style (Phillips, 'The Patronage of Music in Late Renaissance England', 9, 66 and P. Walls, 'The Origin of English Recitative', Proceedings of the RMA, 110 (1983-84), 25-40, see esp. p. 37). There is no record in the Salisbury manuscripts that Lanier joined his pupil's retinue; however, he is known to have carried letters to Venice on behalf of the Privy Council early in 1611, travelling to Paris in March of the same year where he was in contact with Henry Lord Clifford (Ashbee, RECM, IV, 87; PRO SP78 France 57/84).

124. Salisbury MSS vol. 228/32

arriving at Venice in November where he lodged with the ambassador Sir Henry Wotton, though after a brief stay in Padua, he left the Venetian Republic in February 1610/11 and began the journey home.[125]

Salisbury adopted a different strategy for the education of his son-in-law. In September 1610 Henry Lord Clifford was enrolled at Antoine de Pluvinel's academy of equitation in Paris.[126] His tutor, William Beecher, wrote to Salisbury on 29 September, 'I never knew yet any Englishe nobleman or gentleman undertake this cours of the academy before...'.[127] Clifford's innovatory move set the fashion for Englishmen visiting seventeenth-century France.[128] Established in 1595

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125. The ambassador's residence at Venice was a quasi-academy for Englishmen travelling in Italy. Wotton, a connoisseur of the arts, played an active role in the transmission of Italian culture to England. His love of music, architecture and scientific experiment was shared by many of his protégés including Sir Charles Cavendish I's sons, William (later Earl of Newcastle) and Charles, who accompanied Wotton on his diplomatic mission to Savoy in the spring of 1612 to discuss the possible match between Henry Prince of Wales and Duke Charles's daughter. Wotton and his company were well received during their embassy both at Montmelian where they were entertained to a banquet and music by the Marquis de Lanz and at the ducal palace of Turin. William Cavendish made a considerable impression on the Duke of Savoy who wished to retain him and on Wotton who described the youth as 'so sweet an ornament of my journey, and a gentleman himself of so excellent nature and institution' (Trease, Portrait of a Cavalier, 33).

126. Charles and Robert Cecil followed the example of their uncle, spending the final six months of their two-year tour (April 1636-April 1638) at de Pluvinel's academy. Robert returned to France later in 1638 in the company of his younger brother Philip. While in Paris the boys received musical tuition for at least eleven months (Salisbury MSS box I/4; accounts 36/2).

127. PRO SP78 France 56/286. Beecher, a client of the earl, had served in the household of the English ambassador to Paris, Sir George Carew. Desiring to make '[the] best proffit of his travayle', Clifford refused an offer of hospitality from the Duc de Guise and rented a house next door to the academy; but he was soon forced to move into the academy itself on economic grounds (SP78 France 56/265).

128. The French academies did not meet with universal approval. Robert Dallington, for example, in A Method of Travel. Shewed by taking the View of France (?1605) criticised them for placing 'divertissements' above solid learning (K.J. Holtgen, 'Sir Robert Dallington (1561-1637): Author, Traveler, and Pioneer of Taste', Hunt. Lib. Q., 47 (1984), 147-77, see esp. p. 159). Clifford was joined by other English travellers, including his brother-in-law, Thomas Wentworth, William Slingsby and Sir Thomas Puckering (T.D. Whitaker,

at the faubourg Saint-Honoré next to the Grande Ecurie du Roi, de Pluvinel's academy was principally a military and equestrian establishment, though it also offered tuition in 'les mathematiques, la peinture et le lut, sous les plus excellents maistres que l'on puisses desirer', all of which were considered necessary attributes for the aspiring courtier.[129] The fact that some of the most influential lute teachers were to be found in France encouraged English patrons to cross the channel in order to improve their technique. During his residence in Paris, for example, Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury practised on the lute 'according to the rules of the French masters'.[130] Beecher consulted Salisbury on the subjects which he wished his son-in-law to pursue at de Pluvinel's academy. The earl's reply does not survive, but given that he considered musical skill vital to a courtier, it seems likely that Clifford studied the lute while abroad.[131]

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The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven, ed. A.W. Morant (3rd ed., 1878), 365; D. Parsons (ed.), The Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby (1836), 265; PRO SP78 France 56/286). Puckering's curriculum survives but it appears that he did not study music at de Pluvinel's academy (Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 695).

129. H. de Terrebasse, Antoine de Pluvinel (1552-1620) (Lyon, 1911), 15, 24; F. A. Yates, The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century (rep. 1988), 278. Sir John Holles, for example, advised his son, 'The best place in Paris is sayd to be the Academy, wher together with lodging and diett, yow have your exercises at hand, wherin the more yow proffite, the more shall yow be esteemed by your companions' (Portland MS PwV2 p. 49). Other French towns, including Blois, Angers and Saumur, boasted equestrian academies similar to de Pluvinel's. George Villiers and his brother enrolled in the academy at Angers in 1611 where they followed a course of study similar to that offered to Clifford (R. Lockyer, Buckingham: The Life and Political Career of George Villiers First Duke of Buckingham 1592-1628 (1984), 10-11; W. Frijhoff, 'Etudiants étrangers à l'Academie d'Equitation d'Angers au xvii$^{e}$ Siècle', Lias, 4 (1977), 13-84, see esp. p. 45). Clifford's nephew, Philip Cecil, returned to France in 1641 and spent several months at Saumur and Orleans in the company of his tutor Phillip Frehen, but there is no mention in his accounts of musical tuition (Salisbury MSS accounts 39/4).

130. Lee, The Autobiography of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, 105; M. Tilmouth, 'Music and British Travellers Abroad 1600-1730', Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music, ed. I. Bent (1981), 357-82, see esp. pp. 375-76

131. PRO SP78 France 56/265. See Chapter 7, pp. 223-24

## VI. THE ACADEMY IN ENGLAND

The virtues of foreign travel were widely acknowledged, though some Englishmen felt that many of the courtly accomplishments acquired during foreign travel could just as easily be gained at home within an appropriate environment and at less cost to the participants. Several attempts were made during the Elizabethan and early Stuart periods to establish a royal academy in England modelled on the French example.[132]

The earliest surviving proposal, dating approximately four months after Lord Burghley's appointment as master of the Court of Wards in January 1561, was submitted by his brother-in-law, Sir Nicholas Bacon, a former attorney to the Court.[133] In his articles devised for the education of the queen's wards, Bacon recommended the employment of five schoolmasters to teach temporal and civil law, Latin and Greek, French and other modern languages, military and equestrian skills, and music and 'qualities thereupon depending'. Each discipline was allocated a space of one or two hours daily within a timetable commencing at 8.00 a.m. and finishing at 9.00 p.m. Music was to be taught from 12.00 p.m. to 2.00 p.m., and one hour each evening was to be spent in repeating the music which had been learnt on the previous day.

Approximately nine years later Sir Humphrey Gilbert submitted an alternative plan intended for wards of court and other youths of noble and gentle birth.[134] He believed that university education was inadequate as it provided only scholastic training. In his academy

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132. Stoye, English Travellers Abroad, 38. The mixed fortunes of the academy in England are discussed in Caudill, 'Some Literary Evidence of the Development of English Virtuoso Interests in the Seventeenth Century', Chapter 8, 'Academies and Educational Reform Proposals: The Training of a Virtuoso', 267-366.

133. Strong is wrong to suggest that the idea was 'first mooted by Sir Humphrey Gilbert' (Henry Prince of Wales, 215). Ibl Add. MS 32379 ff. 26-33v

134. Ward suggests that the projected academy was already public knowledge in c. 1562 ('Sprightly & Cheerful Musick', 22). Gilbert only received his knighthood in 1570 which implies that the final draft of the proposal, endorsed by Burghley, 'S$^{r}$ Humf. Gilbert for Academy of y$^{e}$ wardes', was completed some time after this date (F.J. Furnivall (ed.), 'Queene Elizabethes Achademy', EETS, extra series 8 (1869), ii, viii, 1-12).

pupils would also study matters of action and be exercised in those qualities meet for a gentleman. Gilbert's curriculum was more detailed than Bacon's with respect to the boys' musical training. His academy would provide 'one Teacher of Musick...to play on the Lute, the Bandora, and Cytterne, &c., who shall be yearely allowed for the same 26 li.' The emphasis on plucked instruments, particularly the wire-strung variety, reflects their popularity during the mid-Elizabethan period.

Neither of these proposals was implemented, and the idea of a royal academy was abandoned until the first decade of the seventeenth century. The basic premise of Gilbert's plan was adopted by Prince Henry, though the project to which the latter was committed seems to have owed as much to the Parisian riding academy of Antoine de Pluvinel.[135] Sir John Holles noted among Henry's 'public works which either were of use or ornament to this State...the Academy, to which he had given his stables and other helps for the better "address" of our youth...'.[136] Built between 1607 and 1609, the riding school at St James's Palace, the first of its kind in England, was used to train courtiers in the new horsemanship of haute école, but it is not clear when or, for that matter, if a royal academy was established under

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135. According to Sir Balthazar Gerbier, Henry supported the proposal on the grounds that the king's wards would have at less expense a fit breeding and education in England where they might learn fashion and civility and appear less ignorant to the French (J. Gutch, 'Sir Balthazar Gerbier's Project for an Academy Royal in England', Collectanea Curiosa, 2 vols (Oxford, 1781), I, 209-15). Gerbier's attempts to establish a similar institution in the late 1640s was severely criticised by 'a Friend of the Universities'. According to the latter, the main reason for establishing an academy was the great horse, 'the rest serving but to put a good face on this, the better to set it off.' In his proposal Gerbier had attacked the universities for their lack of musical instruction, but his critic noted 'there are singing masters, musick masters, &c. enough to be had, to teach those who are desirous to learn; or, if not in the Universities, at least in London; where are store of such, as good or better than we are to expect in his new Acaddemy, out of which the learner may make his choice, without being confined to those whom this Projector shall provide for them' (Gutch, 'A Letter from a Friend of the Universities, in reference to the new Project for riding the Great Horse', Collectanea Curiosa, II, 24-35, see esp. pp. 27-28).

136. Quoted in Strong, Henry Prince of Wales, 8

Henry's patronage.[137] James Cleland's 1607 description of the prince's court at Nonesuch suggests rather that Henry's young companions were educated indirectly through contact with the prince and the circle of experienced courtiers who served in his household:[138]

> ...the Academie of our Noble Prince, where young Nobles may learne the first elements to be a Privie Counseller, a Generall of an Armie, to rule in peace & to commande in warre...here is the true Panthaeon of Great Britaine, where Vertue her selfe dwelleth by patterne, by practise, by encouragement, admonitions, & precepts of the most rare persons in Vertue and learning that can be found: so that the very accidents of young Noble mens studies cannot but be substantial, as sympathising with the fountaine from whence they flow...For exercise of the body there is none lacking, fitting a young Noble man, so that he may learne more in this one place, in one month, then if hee should run over al France and Italie, in a year; yea his Highnesse Dinners and Suppers are an other Salomons table, where the wisest men of any country may come to learne of him & his attendants.

The curriculum for the projected academy coincided with Henry's own training: modern languages (French and Italian), mathematics, the great horse, dancing, playing on the lute and other 'exercices du corps'. However, a lack of funds and the death of the prince in November 1612 prevented its establishment.[139]

The idea of a finishing school was revived almost a decade later in connection with the founding of a National Academy for the study and

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137. The Earl of Newcastle attended the school at St James's Palace and later modelled his own riding school at Welbeck on the prince's building.

138. Henry had rooms in the east wing of Nonesuch between September 1604 and September 1610 (J. Dent, The Quest for Nonesuch ((1981), 186-89). Cleland, The Institution of a Young Noble Man, Book 1, chapter 8, p. 35

139. Gutch, 'Sir Balthazar Gerbier's Project', 214. Salisbury's decision to enroll his son-in-law at de Pluvinel's academy may reflect his intention to educate Clifford in a manner similar to Prince Henry. However, the emphasis which he placed on musical education was more than pandering to the prince, for on learning that his son William had continued his studies during his European travels, he wrote, 'if it be true...that you give you selfe to delight in Musick and practise both hand and voyce...[I] shall account it among the rest of those things yow do to please me' (Salisbury MSS vol. 228/32).

encouragement of history, literature and 'heroick doctrine'.[140] On 5 March 1620/1 the Marquess of Buckingham spoke in the House of Lords about the need for an educational institution similar to the French noble academies, and referred to Prince Henry's abortive plan:[141]

> The Lord Admiral moved, that, forasmuch as the Education of youth, especially of Quality and Worth, is a matter of high Consequence, that therefore to provide that such Persons, in their tender Years, do not spend their Time fruitlessly about this Town or elsewhere, his Lordship wished, that some fit and good Course might be taken for Erection and Maintenance of an Academy, for the breeding and bringing up of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom...

The motion received considerable approval. Speeches were made concerning a possible location for the academy and the 'Qualities, Arts, Sciences, and Exercises' which might be taught and practised. A committee including Buckingham and Prince Charles was appointed to draft a proposal, though in the absence of any records it would appear that the body never met. The marquess returned to the proposal seven years later, though once again no action was taken.[142]

Later in Charles's reign Sir Francis Kynaston was granted a licence under the great seal to erect an academy in Covent Garden for the education of noblemen and gentlemen. The Musaeum Minervae was founded in 1635 so 'that England may be well furnished for the vertuous education and discipline of her own Natives, as any other Nation of Europe.' In Kynaston's view, the principal attraction of the academy was its ability to offer qualities and arts 'taught, yet not practized in the Universities nor Innes of Court'. Six tutors were appointed including a professor to teach 'Skill in singing and Musick to play

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140. Both schemes are discussed in E. M. Portal, 'The Academ Roial of James I', Proceedings of the British Academy, 7 (1915-16), 189-208. A similar idea was also being explored at this time by Sir Francis Bacon in New Atlantis. For the musical attributes of Bacon's academy see A. Johnston (ed.), Francis Bacon: The Advancement of Learning and New Atlantis (Oxford, 1980), 244.

141. Journal of the House of Lords 1620-28, III, 36; Lockyer, Buckingham, 97

142. Journal of the House of Lords 1620-28, III, 710, 851

upon Organ, Lute, Violl, &c.' as well as 'dancing and behaviour'.[143] As one would expect, the instrumental tuition provided by the academy was influenced by contemporary musical taste. Each Tuesday afternoon was devoted to public music, and during term public lectures were given by the appointed professor, though it is not stated in the constitutions if he was expected to discourse on speculative musical theory.[144]

The final attempt to establish a royal academy prior to the Civil War was made by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, probably the foremost connoisseur of the arts in early Stuart England. He approached the House of Lords in 1640 about 'the erecting of an Academy for the breeding and training up of young noblemen and gent.'[145] However, the project was stifled by the outbreak of Civil War and Arundel's voluntary exile abroad.

It is probably not a coincidence that a French-style academy was unsuccessful. The reasons lie not in the proposed curriculum, in which music was offered as one of a number of social accomplishments necessary to the courtier; but rather, such an institution faced the opposition of a scholastic community which guarded its independence jealously.[146] Furthermore, it had to compete with several alternative methods of education, including continental travel, foreign academies, private tutors and courtesy manuals, which not only stimulated English

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143. T. W. Jackson, "Dr Wallis' letter against Mr Maidwell 1700", in 'Collectanea' ed. C.R.L. Fletcher, Oxford Historical Society, 5 (1885), 280-81. The six tutors were Edward May, Thomas Hunt, Nicholas Phiske, John Spiedal, Walter Salter and Michael Mason. F. Kynaston, The Constitutions of the Musaeum Minervae (1636), 5

144. Kynaston, Musaeum Minervae, 12-13. The academy had ceased to exist by 1639. Kynaston's house at Covent Garden was furnished with books, manuscripts, musical and mathematical instruments, paintings, statues, and so on. Samuel Hartlib recorded in his Ephemerides, 'Keniston said that hee had in his library the best library of musical MS that were in the world', including 'a great booke in fol. of the most rare and excellent master-peeces in musicke with another of 40 voices' (Sheffield University Library, Hartlib papers H50 29/3/64b and 35b). I am grateful to Dr Anthony Milton for these references.

145. Journal of the House of Lords 1628-42, IV, 80; G. Parry, The Golden Age Restor'd (Manchester, 1981), Chapter 5

146. Baker-Smith, 'Renaissance and Reformation', 12-13

virtuoso interests but also partially satisfied those interests.[147]

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It is evident from the material discussed above that music played a central role in the courtly ideal of the English nobility. Musical literacy was pursued for its recreational and physical attributes as well as for its moral and intellectual qualities. Furthermore, from the end of the sixteenth century the ruling elite not only studied music as a means of refining their aesthetic appreciation of the art, but in an age when scientific enquiry was also considered an appropriate activity for the courtier, speculative musical theory was pursued as just one facet of a much broader interest in natural philosophy. Musical tuition was available at every point in the nobleman's training from childhood to adulthood. Professional and competent amateur teachers offered guidance in vocal and instrumental skills as well as in theory at home, in the schools and universities and during periods of travel spent on mainland Europe. Although the nobility were discouraged from developing advanced performing skills themselves, their education equipped them to be highly discriminating auditors and patrons of music.

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147. Caudill, 'Some Literary Evidence of the Development of English Virtuoso Interests in the Seventeenth Century', 267, 290

## CHAPTER SEVEN

## SECULAR MUSICAL TASTE

The increase in musical literacy among the ruling elite inevitably influenced the development of composition in late Elizabethan and early Stuart England as amateur performers demanded a greater range of vocal and instrumental works to meet their skills. Despite the reticence with which the nobility expressed their taste in secular music, their employment of particular musicians and composers and the range of musical and instrumental sources provided suggest that many earls played an active role in the choice of music performed in their households, though few may have exercised such control over their musicians' repertoire as John Jenkins's patron, Sir Nicholas L'Estrange.[1]

Secular musical taste is discussed in this chapter in terms of the motives underlying aristocratic patronage, namely, to adorn the ceremony of state, to enhance the nobleman's reputation for hospitality and liberality, and to display the patron's affinity with the crown and the local community. The chapter includes a detailed study of the duties of heraldic and recreational musicians, the assimilation of foreign musical culture, the dissemination of musical developments associated with the court, and the use of native traditions to reinforce the earl's hegemony at a county level and to criticise the growing remoteness of the early Stuart monarchy.

### I. CEREMONY OF STATE

The ceremony of state observed by the nobility since the early Middle Ages had diminished somewhat by the turn of the seventeenth century;[2] however, the weight of tradition and the need to retain local prestige encouraged several earls, including new peers who strove to

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1. Ashbee, The Harmonious Musick of John Jenkins, 56-59

2. For example, R.B. complained that 'noble men in these daies (for the most parte) like better to be served with pages and groomes, then in that estate which belongeth to their degrees' (Lbl Add. MS 29262 f. 4).

model themselves on the old nobility, to retain a measure of decorum commensurate with their rank.[3] Music, no less than literature and the visual arts, was deemed an appropriate adjunct to the ceremony of state. Courtly etiquette dictated that the arts reflect an ordered and harmonious society. This was achieved through the suitability of the particular artistic medium to the occasion for which it was designed.

Regulations drawn up for 'the better ordering and direction' of an earl's house provide a useful framework within which to examine the ceremonial ritual of the English nobility. They offer some insight into the role which music played both in the daily and extraordinary routine of the aristocratic household, though it should be stated that only three of the ordinances examined comment specifically on the duties of resident musicians: the fifteenth century 'orders of service belonging to the degrees of a duke, a marquess and an earle used in their owne howses'; the Northumberland household book compiled during the reign of Henry VIII; and 'Some rules and orders... set down by R.B.', c. 1605.[4]

Occasion and place dictated the nature of secular music performed within the confines of the aristocratic household. For example, the instrumental repertory which announced the approach of a noble guest differed from that played in the great chamber during mealtimes.

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3. See, for example, the regulations compiled by Morgan Coleman for the merchant Lionel Cranfield who was granted the earldom of Middlesex in 1622 (HL misc. MSS, 'A Booke wherein is declared sundry orders...sett down for the better ordering and direction of the house'). The author of Middlesex's ordinances may have served as steward to the Egerton family (Ob MS Rawl. D406). The contents of Coleman's manuscript agree with the regulations drawn up for the Egerton household (Ellesmere MSS EL 1179-80).

4. Ibl Harl. MS 6815 ff. 22-53v (two copies); NHB; Ibl Add. MS 29262. It is important to stress that in certain respects R.B.'s advice is not a typical example of the musical practice adopted in early Stuart households. Despite its Jacobean dating, 'Some rules and orders' contains the nostalgic reflections of a servant employed in a mid-Elizabethan noble household, the identity of which remains uncertain (Girouard, Life in the English Country House, 323, note 5). Indeed R.B. admitted that the text was written when he was over sixty years old, 'my memorye by age, melancholy and other infirmities [being] much decayed' (Add. MS 29262 f. 17).

1. Commensality

Many ordinances describe in detail the ceremony which accompanied dinner and supper, the main meals of the day. Public commensality was essential to the daily routine of the noble household. The sense of community which it created ensured stability among the ranks of servants and deference to the authority of household officers. More importantly, the ritualised serving of meals which centred on the nobleman represented within the household the principal expression of his state.[5]

Musical performance during mealtimes depended largely on the degree of ceremony observed by the patron. At its most conspicuous level, the ritualised serving of meals involved both 'heraldic' and 'recreational' musicians whose duties were divided between the hall and the more private chambers. The architectural layout of the nobleman's house played an important role in the ceremony of commensality. Plate 3, a schematic drawing of a Tudor noble house, is typical of several properties examined, including Penshurst (the Sidney family) and the castles of Skipton, Raglan and Ashby-de-la-Zouche (belonging to the earls of Cumberland, Worcester and Huntingdon respectively).[6] This physical arrangement mirrored the complex hierarchical structure of the household community. The noble house contained a number of social barriers, the most important of which was the separation at the dias step between the 'household of magnificence' and the 'household of service'. The 'household of magnificence' comprised the dias or raised platform in the hall, the great chamber and the private apartments beyond, inhabited by family and guests. This part of the house was accessible to a limited group of servants, including resident musicians, whose duties involved personal attendance. Independent musicians and acting troupes were also permitted to cross the dias in order to entertain the nobility. The 'household of service' consisted of those areas associated with the preparation of food, namely the buttery, pantry and kitchen, as well as the great hall.[7] From about

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5. Mertes, The English Noble Household, 179

6. The drawing is taken from Heal, Hospitality in Early Modern England, 28.

7. Heal, ibid., 29-30

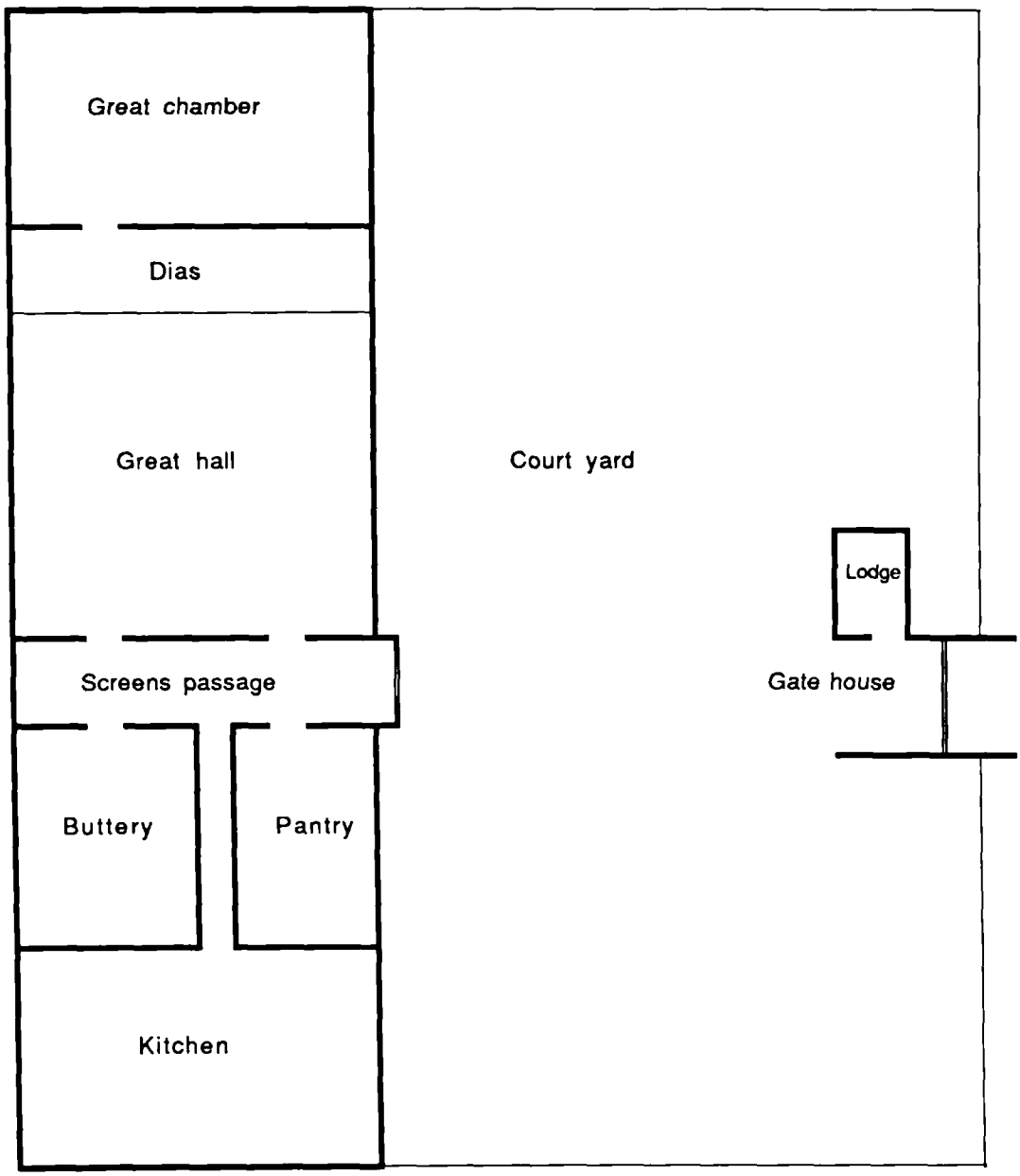


Plate 3. Schematic drawing of a Tudor noble house

the beginning of the fifteenth century screens, often with a musicians' gallery above, were erected at the kitchen end of the hall, the purpose of which was to enhance the ritualised serving of meals.[8] (See Plate 4)

During the Middle Ages the life of the house had been dominated by the hall, the communal eating and sleeping area. Here the nobleman sat elevated on the dias, visible to servants and guests, and the focal point for ceremonial display.[9] By the early sixteenth century family and guests had withdrawn from the hall to eat in private away from servants.[10] However, late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century ordinances strongly recommended semi-public forms of dining; eating in individual chambers was unacceptable as it broke with the traditions of commensality. The whole household continued to sit together at mealtimes: family and guests of equivalent or higher social status than the host in the great chamber beyond the dias end, servants and other strangers in the hall. The arrangement of rooms illustrated in Plate 3 meant that the earl's food had to pass through the hall and therefore continued to be the focus for ritualised presentation.[11]

What role did music play in the ceremony of commensality? R.B. recommended the earl to employ musicians at three stages during the serving of meals:[12]

i) The trumpeter should warn the household 'when it is time for the ewer to cover the table'. The ewer belonged to the body of servants entitled to pass beyond the dias step in the course of his twice-daily duties. The 1595 regulations of the catholic peer, Anthony Viscount Montague, describe in detail the actions associated with his office:[13]

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8. Girouard, Life in the English Country House, 38

9. Girouard, ibid., 30

10. The withdrawal to private chambers has been dated to as early as the fourteenth century on the basis of Langland's observation, yet this appears to have been the exception rather than the rule (Girouard, Life in the English Country House, 30; Heal, Hospitality in Early Modern England, 42). As with Penshurst, the great chamber was usually located on the first floor.

11. Heal, ibid., 153

12. Ibl Add. MS 29262 ff. 14v-15

13. W.H. St J. Hope, Cowdray and Easebourne Priory (1919), 130

Plate 4. The musicians' gallery, Penshurst Place, Kent

> ...after warneinge given him by the Yeoman Usher to prepare for coveringe, that he arme himselfe, and haveinge everye thinge readye within his office doe carrye them uppe to the Ewrye boorde which after he hath furnished with all things necessarye, he shall then laye the table clothe fayre uppon both his armes, and goe together with the Yeoman Usher, with due reverence to the table of my dyett, makeinge two curtseys thereto, the one about the middest of the chamber, the other when he cometh to ytt, and there kissinge ytt, shall lay ytt on the same place where the sayd Yeoman Usher with his hande appoynteth casteinge the one ende the one waye, the other ende the other waye; the sayd Usher helpinge him to spreade ytt: which beinge spredde and reverence done, he shall retourne to my cupboorde for plate and cover ytt. This done (after the Yeoman of my Pantrye hath placed the salte, and layde myne and my wifes trenchers, manchetts, knyves and spoones,) he shall retourne with the like reverence, and soe conducted as before, and coverre them with napkynes, and sett them uppon the Ewrye boorde.

ii) If a drummer was available he was expected to play until the sewer, the earl's personal waiter, was ready 'to goe up with the service', namely the meat and fruit courses prepared in the kitchen and carried via the screens passage through the hall and up to the great chamber. The formalities noted in the 5th Earl of Huntingdon's 1609 regulations are typical of many of the ordinances examined. Upon the appearance of the sewer, the usher of the hall

> ...standing towards the upper end of the hall, doe with a loude voice, say, 'Gentlemen and yeomen, waite on the sewer', and, at the coming of their Honnors' meate, he be ready at the skreene to receave the sewer, and then say, with a loude voice, 'By your leave'; and cause all men in the hall to come to the other side of the hall, and be bare-headed whilst their Honnors' meate passeth through.[14]

R.B. does not specify the position from which the trumpeter and drummer accompanied the actions of the ewer and sewer, though to achieve maximum effect, the musicians' gallery above the screens passage seems the most appropriate location, providing of course one existed.

iii) The wording of R.B.'s advice implies that by the end of the sixteenth century heraldic musicians infrequently performed commensal duties. The marked decline in the number of resident trumpeters would appear to support this view.[15] The withdrawal of the nobility into

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[14]. Nichols, 'West Goscote Hundred', 594

[15]. See Chapter 3, pp. 43-45

private chambers to eat meant that heraldic musicians were required only 'at great feasts or in the time of great straingers' when conspicuous display was at a premium. On such occasions household musicians took over from the drummer 'when the earles service [was] going to the table' in the great chamber, playing on sackbuts, cornets, shawms, and other instruments 'going with winde'.[16] Once again, R.B. does not state the precise location of this group. However, it seems reasonable to presume that the wind band played in the public area of the hall, in keeping with court practice, and not within the confines of the great chamber. With the possible exception of the 5th Earl of Huntingdon, none of the earls listed in Appendix I is known to have provided wind instruments for his resident musicians which suggests that if ceremonial music was required noblemen probably resorted to the employment of itinerant bands.[17] For example, during the Michaelmas 1619 visit of the 2nd Earl and Countess of Salisbury the Cliffords hired Willowbys company, a four man consort from Malton, which played 'at tymes on loud instruments'.[18]

By the reign of James I the formalities of public dining recommended in contemporary ordinances were not always observed in practice. This change in attitude was reflected in the architectural design of the Jacobean noble house. The great hall declined in significance. Senior household officers ate in private chambers such as the parlour, leaving the hall for yeomen and strangers of comparable social status. In some properties the hall lost its commensal function and was used primarily to greet guests on arrival. Moreover, it became isolated from the ceremonial chambers by one or more floors. For example, at Hardwick (built by Elizabeth Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury and subsequently occupied by her descendants, the earls of Devonshire), the main great chamber was located at the top of the house on the second floor, two flights away from the hall and the service block. Furthermore, family and guests tended to eat in more private rooms, particularly in houses like Knole where the great chamber was as large

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16. Lbl Add. MS 29262 f. 14v

17. See Appendix VII

18. Bolton MSS book 98 f. 137

and impersonal as the medieval hall.[19] A room of this size could accommodate a large number of guests and was therefore used only at certain times of the year or on formal occasions.

The relaxation in the formalities associated with commensality appears to have had less effect on the duties of recreational musicians employed in the private apartments located beyond the dias step. R.B. advised the earl's servants to play consorts of 'vialls, violens, or other broken musicke'.[20] A number of sources dating from the early Stuart period confirm that keyboard instruments were placed in dining chambers; organs, for example, are found in the great chambers at Hatfield and Salisbury House, the great parlour at Londesborough, and the dining room at Chelsea House (Earl of Middlesex).[21] Inevitably, in households which maintained resident musicians it is impossible to establish if music accompanied mealtimes on a regular, if not daily, basis. Disbursements only allow us to trace the occasions on which itinerant performers were employed. The Cliffords often hired waits and other travelling musicians when guests were present or during their extended visits to London. For example, the Westminster waits played when Lady Anne Cecil and Lady Elizabeth Howard joined the family for dinner in the great chamber of their Strand lodgings on 18 January 1620/1.[22]

The post-commensal duties of musicians outlined in the early Tudor regulations, Harleian MS 6815 and the Northumberland household book, were in large measure observed by the late Elizabethan and early Stuart nobility. According to the fifteenth-century 'Orders of service', once the earl and his chief officers had eaten in the great chamber and whilst the servants were dining in the hall, 'th'estates musitions do enter and there use their instrumentes for such as shall please th'estate to have daunce.'[23] A similar pattern may have occurred at

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19. Clifford, The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford, 53

20. Lbl Add. MS 29262 f. 14v

21. Salisbury MSS box A, box B/5, box D/2 (1611-1647) and box C/4, 5, 8 and 9 (1629-1647); Bolton MSS book 100 f. 97 (Nov. 1624); KAO U269/E264 (1629)

22. Bolton MSS book 99 f. 109v

23. Lbl Harl. MS 6815 f. 30

supper. Regulations for the evening meal are not set down in detail, but a note suggests that the same ritual was adopted.[24] According to the Northumberland household book, two 'minstrel yeomen waiters' were instructed to wait 'in the great chamber daily upon flesh days from 7 of the clock at night after supper be done to nine of the clock at night.'[25] This is one of the most detailed ordinances to have survived, yet with respect to the employment of secular musicians it is a typical example of the gulf between theory and practice. The text implies that musicians were not required to attend at dinner, before or during meals, or on fish days, but it is clear from the instructions regarding servants' annuities that Northumberland's resident minstrels were employed solely to provide musical entertainment and therefore must have performed on other occasions. The Cliffords regularly hired itinerant musicians to perform after the evening meal. For example, on 27 August 1612 seven waits of York who were in attendance all night at Londesborough played in the great chamber after supper.[26]

**2. The arrival of persons of state**

Many ordinances contain instructions regarding the organisation of the travelling household. The Medieval practice of regular monthly progresses around a nobleman's estates had considerably diminished by the late sixteenth century. The nobility tended instead to occupy a single property for anything from four to eight months, moving only between two or three provincial estates and London in the course of a year, even though their landholdings were located widely throughout England and Wales.[27] For example, the Earl of Devonshire owned several estates in the Midlands and Somerset as well as properties in three London parishes, yet the family's annual progress took them principally from the capital to their Derbyshire seats at Chatsworth and Hardwick.[28]

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24. ibid., f. 33v

25. NHB, 307-08. The gentlemen and children of Northumberland's chapel were appointed 'to uttend at no tyme but oonely in exercising of goddis service...' (ibid., 312).

26. Bolton MSS book 94 unfoliated leaves after f. 96

27. Mertes, Life in the Noble Household, 185

28. House of Lords MSS original acts 3 Charles I/12

Theoretically, the travelling household comprised three elements: the 'riding' household who announced the coming of their master and checked that everything was in order at their destination; a second group centred on the nobleman, at the head of which was the trumpeter 'to advertise its approach'; and finally, a large contingent of servants and pack horses carrying furniture, linen, and so on.[29] R.B. defined the duties of the trumpeter on progress:[30]

> ...he is early every morning to sownde to give warning that the officers may have time to make all thinges ready for breakefast and the grooms of the stable to drese and meate the horses. When it is breakefast time he is to make his second sounding: breakefast ended and thinges in a readines, he is to sounde the third time to call to horse. He is to ride formost, both out and into any towne sounding his trumpet. Upon the way he may sounde for pleasure. But if he see the day so spent that they are like to bringe late to their lodging he is to sound the tantara to move them to hasten their pace.

It was common for trumpeters and drummers in the service of the court and the Privy Council to welcome members of the nobility to London. In April 1614, for example, shortly after his arrival at lodgings in St Martin's parish, the 4th Earl of Cumberland was greeted by the companies of James I and Prince Charles.[31] The auditory as well as the visual spectacle of sixteen trumpeters dressed in royal livery emphasised Cumberland's status. However, formal welcomes were not reserved for leading peers of the realm. In December 1616, almost two years prior to receiving an earldom, William Baron Cavendish was similarly greeted in the capital as was Sir Robert Sidney, governor of Flushing, on his return to England in March 1598.[32]

Household ordinances contain relatively detailed instructions regarding the procedure by which distinguished visitors were received on arrival at a nobleman's estate. Like the dias step, the gatehouse was an important social barrier. Among his many duties the porter was to 'bee attendaunte at the gate, as well for repaire of strangers, as

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29. Girouard, Life in the English Country House, 14

30. Lbl Add. MS 29262, f. 15

31. Bolton MSS book 95 ff. 116-116v. See also book 96 ff. 75-76v, book 97 ff. 101-101v, book 99 f. 109v, book 161, book 173 f. 15, book 177 f. 261v, book 179

32. Hardwick MS 29 p. 509; KAO U1475/A38/3

repulse of such disordered persons as would come yn.'[33] He was empowered to restrict admittance to visitors above a certain rank and tradesmen attending the household on business. At certain times of the day -- principally during periods of devotion and at mealtimes-- entrance to the courtyard was barred unless the visitor was of elevated social status. Persons of quality generally gained admittance through the half wicket gate where they were met by senior household officers, though the great gateway was opened for members of the aristocracy. If a visiting peer was of comparable rank to the host he was permitted to enter the courtyard on horseback, but 'after the old order of England [he] most comonlie would not onles he was earnestlie required by the head officers who receyved him'.[34]

On certain occasions music accompanied the formal reception of important visitors. For example, on 17 September 1628 Richard Lyndall, steward at Hengrave, sought Countess Rivers's advice regarding the arrival of her husband:[35]

> I cannot tell howe to receave my Lord Rivers when his Lo'p comes to Hengrave, but I humblye praye your honours direction therein. For if you shall thinke it meet the Bells shoulde be rung, & at his Lo'ps coming in at the porters gate to have them cease & a noyse of Musitians to playe upon the Leades over the Gate untill his honor be come into the house...

As a visitor of higher rank than the Kytsons, Rivers would have been shown all the privileges referred to above. Moreover, his own servants would have taken precedence over those attached to Hengrave and therefore would have assumed control of the household during the earl's

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33. Nichols, 'West Goscote Hundred', 596; Heal, Hospitality in Early Modern England, 30, 32. Unsolicited musicians usually played at the gates or were occasionally permitted to enter the courtyard. For example, on 20 September 1619 the waits of Pomfret received 2s 6d for playing on loud instruments at the gates of Londesbrough (Bolton MSS book 98 f. 136v). In fact, several rewards paid by the Cliffords to itinerant musicians fall into this category.

34. Lbl Harl. MS 6815 ff. 32v, 37-37v

35. Hengrave MS no. 88, vol. ii/129. Lady Elizabeth Kytson, mistress of Hengrave and mother of Countess Rivers, had died on 2 August 1628. The estate passed to her estranged son-in-law, Thomas, Earl Rivers (PRO PROB 11/154/103). Lady Kytson's will was not proved until 24 November, but in September John Wilbye noted that Francis Croftes, one of the trustees, and some others 'this day...wil be att Hengrave to prise the stuffe' (Hengrave MS no. 88 vol. ii/131).

visit.[36] Lyndall's request implies that he knew little about the formalities involved. This seems strange; even in a gentry household the steward should have been conversant with the custom of welcoming distinguished guests. Indeed, the Kytsons shared familial ties with many aristocratic families including the barons Spencer of Wormleighton and the earls of Derby and Bath.[37] Lyndall's uncertainty may be explained by the strained relations between the Earl and Countess Rivers. Mary Kytson had married Thomas Lord Darcy in 1583 but the couple separated after eleven years due to 'peevish jealousies in the [earl], never again to live together'.[38] Assuming that Lyndall's suggestion met with Lady Rivers's approval, 'a noyse of Musitians' must have played when the earl passed through the gatehouse, crossed the courtyard and entered the hall opposite.

Dramatised welcomes

At its most conspicuous level the reception of an important visitor took the form of a dramatised welcome.[39] Six devices of this nature were staged by the earls listed in Appendix I.[40] During the

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36. Heal, Hospitality in Early Modern England, 32

37. See Appendix II

38. Gage, The History and Antiquities of Hengrave in Suffolk, 214-15

39. Multi-sectional entertainments were often staged to celebrate the visit of a royal or noble guest. The term 'entertainment' is generic. It encompassed several different forms, and occasionally a group of contrasting devices including the masque. The precise arrangement depended on the length of visit; however, they were generally tripartite in structure: an elaborate welcome on arrival followed by a variable middle section such as a masque and terminating with a farewell device often accompanied by gift-giving on the day of departure (C.C. Brown, 'Milton's Arcades: Context, Form and Function', Renaissance Drama, new series 8 (1977), 245-74, see esp. p.263).

40. See Appendix VIII, 'Private Entertainments 1591-1641'. The term 'private entertainment' is defined for the purposes of this discussion as a dramatic device combining speech, music, dance and spectacle staged in a provincial or metropolitan noble house. Other scholars working in the field have used terms such as 'manor house show' (C.E. McGee and J.C. Meagher, 'Preliminary Checklist of Tudor and Stuart Entertainments', Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama, 24 (1981), 51-155; ibid., 27 (1984), 47-126; McGee (ed.), ibid., 30 (1988), 17-128); 'country house entertainment' (C.C. Brown, 'Milton's

second half of the sixteenth century this invariably occurred outdoors and therefore entered the domain of civic pageantry. Despite the fact that the visitor's reception took place within the host's private estate, the public were frequently spectators of or participants in the device.[41] For example, on the afternoon of 20 September 1591 over two hundred retainers under the patronage of the Earl of Hertford witnessed Elizabeth I's entry into Elvetham Park where she was greeted with a latin oration and a six-part madrigal ('With fragrant flowers we strew the way') sung by men and boys representing the three Graces and the three hours.[42]

'The Lorde and Ladye Huntingdons Entertainment' staged at Ashby-de-la-Zouche in August 1607 also included an outdoor dramatised welcome. The device was written for the visit of Lady Huntingdon's mother, Alice, Dowager Countess of Derby:[43]

> When hir Ladishipp approached the Park corner, a full noise of cornetts winded & when she entered into the Park, treeble cornetts reported one to another, as giveing warninge of her Honors neerer approach.

This ceremonial fanfare was typical of the music used to announce the arrival of a noble personage, but at Ashby it was incorporated into the scheme of the entertainment and gave the actors, Saturn and an enchantress, their cue to deliver a welcome speech on Lady Derby's arrival at the castle entrance.

Public royal welcomes declined after the queen's death, primarily because of James I's dislike of civic pageantry.[44] Appendix VIII

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Arcades', 262); and, more specifically, 'secular' or private masque (J.M. Ward, 'Newly Devis'd Measures for Jacobean Masques', Acta Musicologica, 60/2 (1988), 111-41, see esp. p. 135).

41. D.M. Bergeron, English Civic Pageantry, 1558-1642 (1971), 3

42. Thomas Watson probably devised this welcome entertainment (H.H. Boyle, 'Elizabeth's Entertainment at Elvetham: War Policy in Pageantry', Studies in Philology, 68 (1971), 146-66, see esp. pp. 161-62). No madrigal setting of the virgins's song survives, but the refrain is similar to 'This sweet and merry month of May' set twice by William Byrd in Watson's 1590 print The First Sett of Italian Madrigalls Englished (E. Brennecke, 'The Entertainment at Elvetham, 1591', Music in English Renaissance Drama, ed. J.H. Long (Lexington, 1968), 32-56, see esp. pp. 37-39).

43. Ellesmere MS EL 34.B.9

44. Bergeron, English Civic Pageantry, 65

includes a single royal example dating from the early Jacobean period. The Stuart king and his Danish brother-in-law, Christian IV, were received at the gates of Theobalds, the Earl of Salisbury's Hertfordshire estate, on 24 July 1606 with a song of welcome 'sung under an artificial oak of silk'. The song does not survive, but the welcome speech delivered in the inner court was subsequently printed in the 1616 Folio edition of Jonson's works.[45]

By the second decade of the Jacobean period the royal welcome had retreated indoors away from public view. Appendix VIII includes three entertainments in which the reception of the monarch formed part of the ceremony of commensality. Ben Jonson's The Kings Entertainment written for Charles I's visit to Welbeck, the Nottinghamshire seat of the Earl of Newcastle, on 21 May 1633 begins 'His Ma$^{tie}$ being set at Dinner,/ A Song was sung:/ A Dialogue betweene the Passions,/ Doubt and Love'.[46] Jonson was commissioned to write a second entertainment in 1634 and chose as his theme Loves Wel-come. The device was staged at Bolsover, Newcastle's Derbyshire estate. Built by the earl's father, the castle was little more than a hunting lodge and therefore offered inadequate accommodation for the entertainment of distinguished guests. Some time after 1628 Newcastle began work on a suite of rooms known as the terrace range. However, the new building was not finished in time for the 1634 royal visit.[47] The court was housed instead at Welbeck but Newcastle, anxious to impress the royal couple with his latest architectural venture, invited them to an entertainment at Bolsover on 30 July. The king and queen were initially received at a banquet, the location of which is in some doubt. Both Trease and Faulkner believe that the royal couple were feasted in the gallery of the terrace range,

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45. The invention of the 'greene taffita welcome at Tiballs' has been attributed to Salisbury's servant, Thomas Wilson, who was also responsible for the 1609 entertainment written to celebrate the opening of Britain's Burse (N.E. McClure (ed.), The Letters of John Chamberlain, 2 vols (1939), I, 232, fn. 4). C.H. Herford and P. & E. Simpson, Ben Jonson, 11 vols (Oxford, 1925-52), VII, 148-50. For an autograph copy of this speech with annotations by the Earl of Salisbury included by Jonson in the printed version of the text see Salisbury MSS vol. 144/272.

46. Herford and Simpson, Ben Jonson, VII, 791

47. The building is discussed in M. Girouard, Robert Smythson & the Elizabethan Country House (1983), 231 ff.

one of the few state rooms supposedly completed by the summer of 1634, but the neo-Platonic resonances of the song of welcome suggest rather that they were received in the pillar chamber of the little castle:[48]

CHORUS. If Love be call'd a lifting of the Sense
To knowledge of that pure intelligence,
Wherein the Soule hath rest, and residence:
1. TEN. When were the Senses in such order plac'd?
2. TEN. The Sight, the Hearing, Smelling, Touching, Taste,
All at one Banquet?

Jonson's text appears to have been inspired by a series of lunettes incorporated into the panelling of the chamber which depict allegorical representations of the five senses.[49]

James I's welcome at Brougham Castle in August 1617 was a more protracted affair. The first evening's entertainment comprised four songs.[50] Two dialogues were sung during supper of which the first— 'Tune thy chearfull voyce to mine' — weaves together the themes of liberal hospitality, deference to the royal guest and the Aristotelian belief in the power of music to refresh body and soul. The evening's entertainment drew to a close with two lute songs welcoming James and his courtiers on their safe return from the Scottish royal progress.[51]

The Garter ceremony

The ceremony of state associated with the nobility also required heraldic musicians to perform duties extraneous to household service, including attendance at major court spectacles at which they announced the arrival of their patron. Trumpeters formed part of the retinue of the knights of the garter during their annual ceremony on St George's Day, 23 April. The military order of the garter, founded by Edward III

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48. G. Trease, Portrait of a Cavalier: William Cavendish, First Duke of Newcastle (1979), 70; P.A. Faulkner, Bolsover Castle (1972), 15; Herford and Simpson, Ben Jonson, VII, 807

49. The scenes were copied from engravings by Cornelis Cort taken from paintings by Frans Floris.

50. George Mason and John Earsden, The Ayres that were sung and played at Brougham Castle in Westmerland (1618): 'Tune thy chearfull voyce to mine' (no. i), 'Now is the time, now is the hower' (no. ii), 'The Lords welcome' (no. x), and 'The Kings goodnight' (no. iii)

51. R.T. Spence, 'A Royal Progress in the North: James I at Carlisle Castle and Feast of Brougham, August 1617', Northern History, 27 (1991), 41-89, see esp. pp. 70-75

'to increase Virtue and Valour in the hearts of his Nobility', was the earliest of the royal chivalrous orders. Revived and adapted under Elizabeth I, the garter was conferred on those of the highest rank and position in the realm. By the 1590s the garter ceremony had developed into a public spectacle. Knights elect accompanied by upwards of fifty to 300 retainers rode to Windsor or Whitehall for the installation service.[52] Elias Ashmole, the herald and antiquarian, describes in some detail the 1592 election of the 7th Earl of Shrewsbury and the 3rd Earl of Cumberland:[53]

> Gilbert Earl of Shrewsbury...was lodged in Mr. Gresham's house...whence he rode through the City, accompanied with sundry of his honorable Friends, and a numerous and gallant Train of Attendants and Servants to Charing Cross; where he met George Earl of Cumberland (his Companion Elect) and thence both together, rode towards Windesor, within a mile or two of which place, Garter King of Arms met them, and set their Attendants in order; and then the Elect-Knights took their way, in goodly Equipage through the Town into the Castle, the Proceeding being thus ordered.
>
> Trumpets, two and two
> Gentlemen in Blue Coats and Gold Chains
> Gentlemen of note
> Garter
> Gentlemen-Ushers
> Earl of Ormond — The two Elect Knights — Baron of Effingham
> With their Footmen about them.
> Noblemen, Knights, and Gentlemen of Quality
> All their Servants in the rear.

Contemporary sources suggest that knights elect as well as garter knights were accompanied by two trumpeters whose instruments were decorated with banners of damask bearing the arms (within a garter),

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52. R. Strong, The Cult of Elizabeth (1977), 164-65, 168, 172-73. At the garter ceremony of 1616 James I 'took occasion against the Installation of Francis, Earl of Rutland, Sir George Villiers...and of Viscount Lisle, to forbid Livery Coats, for saving charge, and avoiding emulation' (Elias Ashmole, The Institutions, Laws & Ceremonies Of the most Noble Order of the Garter (1672), 339). Thereafter, the crown attempted to restrict the number of attendants to a maximum of fifty (see the Marquess of Newcastle's advice to Charles II in S.A. Strong, A Catalogue of Letters and other Historical Documents exhibited in the Library at Welbeck (1903), 225).

53. Ashmole, op. cit., 339

crest and supporters of their patron.[54] By the end of the sixteenth century the majority of trumpeters who played in the ceremonial procession must have been hired specially for the occasion. Few noblemen could boast one let alone two trumpeters among their retinue of servants. For example, in 1606, the Earl of Salisbury received a petition from Nicholas Ward, one of the king's trumpeters, offering his attendance at Windsor on the statesman's installation as knight of the garter.[55]

The royal tournament

A second form of court spectacle involving trumpeters was the royal tournament. Tudor monarchs encouraged feats-of-arms; they not only impressed foreign powers but were also a means of consolidating and maintaining domestic unity and regal authority. From about 1570 tournaments were staged to celebrate the monarch's accession day, to honour foreign dignitaries and to mark special events; but they lost favour during the course of the early Stuart period, not least because of the unwillingness or inability of participants to spend money on such an extravagance.[56]

The tournament offered participants the chance to display their status, and each knight who entered the tiltyard was accompanied by a group of retainers including pages, servants, lance bearers, armourers, trumpeters, grooms, and occasionally actors and musicians.[57] The tournament comprised three parts: 1) the tilt or joust in which two

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54. For example, two trumpeters accompanied the 6th Earl of Rutland during his installation in 1616, one of whom may have been his own servant (see Table 3.1; HMC Rutland, IV, 510).

55. Salisbury MSS P763. Two years later, Robert Westcott, trumpeter to Lord Carew, the queen's vice-chamberlain, offered to accompany Salisbury at the garter ceremony (Salisbury MSS P1155). Westcott was appointed one of the king's trumpeters in November 1613 (Ashbee, RECM, IV, 39).

56. A. Young, Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments (1987), 22-23, 35, 41; Strong, A Catalogue of Letters...in the Library at Welbeck, 224

57. Young, Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments, 70. Each knight presented the monarch with his impresa, a shield bearing an emblematic device with a brief motto. This ceremony was often accompanied by explanatory speeches, poems or songs.

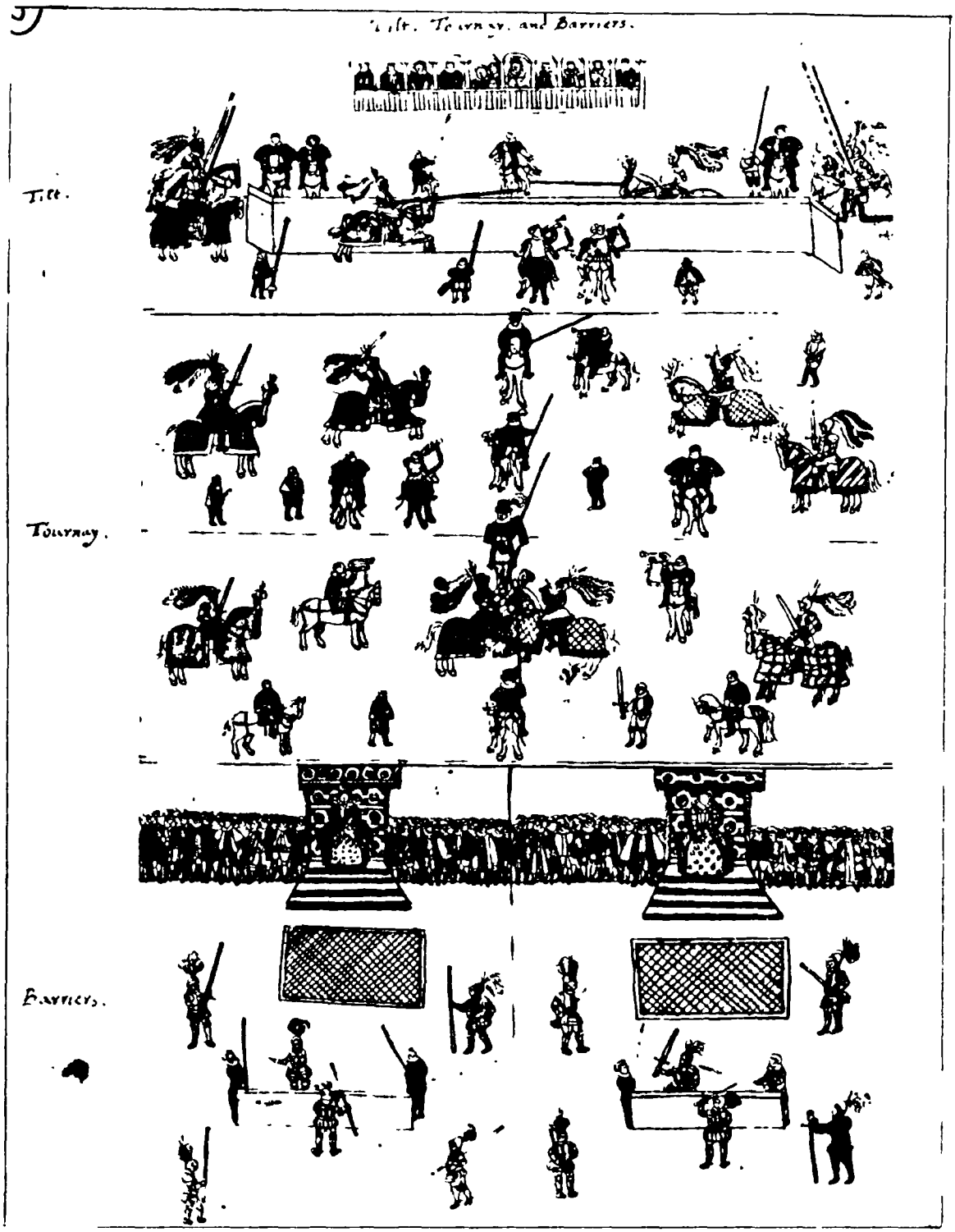


Plate 5. Elizabethan tournament. Illustration taken from A. Young, Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments (1987), 78

knights separated by a wooden barrier (the tilt) rode at each other with lances; 2) the tourney, a form of cavalry combat using swords; and 3) the barriers -- foot combat using swords or long staves. Mounted trumpeters in livery carrying banners depicting their patron's coat-of-arms played during the tilt and tourney (see Plate 5).[58] The 6th Earl of Rutland regularly participated in royal tournaments. At the Accession Day tilt in March 1613, he paid £19 1s 4d to decorate two trumpet banners. The following year he contributed money towards the apparel of a trumpeter and in March 1616 he rewarded two trumpeters £5 each 'for their attendance the tyme of tiltinge'.[59]

### 3. Secular music within the liturgical calendar

The majority of household ordinances comment on religious observance, the practice of which is discussed in Chapter 8. Liturgical feasts also provided a focus for secular musical entertainment. Moreover, they were regarded by the nobility as appropriate occasions on which to cement ties of kinship and to strengthen their local patronage through liberal hospitality towards servants, relatives and the county community.

Christmas was the most important festival in the musical calendar. This medieval celebration, which represented the culmination of the year's hospitality, did not decline in importance during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[60] The Christmas festivities extended over a fourteen-day period from Christmas Eve to Epiphany, the highpoint being the Twelfth Night celebration. It was common for noblemen, irrespective of the number of resident musicians in full-time service, to hire itinerants for part, if not all, of the Christmas

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58. The barriers which were held indoors were accompanied by scenic devices and music; see, for example, Jonson's the Barriers, staged by Prince Henry at Whitehall on Twelfth Night, 1610 (Strong, Henry Prince of Wales, 141-51).

59. HMC Rutland, IV, 494, 499, 508; Ibl Harl. MS 1368 p. 46

60. The association between Christmas and music continued unabated in royalist circles during the Interregnum. The 1655 West Country rising was preceded by cavaliers keeping 'great Christmasses after the usual time with sets of fiddlers' (quoted in Heal, Hospitality in Early Modern England, 186).

period.[61] Between December 1610 and January 1640 the 4th Earl of Cumberland and his son regularly employed travelling musicians at Christmas, including two companies of waits, three local independent bands and a piper.[62] For example, in 1619/20 the Willowby brothers and their company from Malton played at Londesborough for a total of three weeks.[63]

Itinerant musicians were also hired to celebrate other festivals including Candlemas or the purification of the Virgin Mary (2 February), Michaelmas (29 September) and the moveable feast of Shrove Tuesday. Stephen Grigges and his company attended at Londesborough from 22 to 26 February 1611/2 during the shrovetide visit of Cumberland's brother-in-law, Philip Lord Wharton, while at Candlemas 1617/8 the musicians of Ellerton played for three days.[64]

The pre-Reformation practice of staging theatrical entertainments at times of major feasts continued throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[65] From the beginning of James's reign the Christmas festivities at court culminated in the Twelfth Night masque, the first of which was presented in 1603/4 by Anne of Denmark (Samuel

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61. For example, the Earl of Dorset is known to have patronised a large group of singers and instrumentalists, yet in 1607/8 he employed Thomas Cordwell's band of violins over the Christmas period (KAO U269/A1/1).

62. Bolton MSS book 231 f. 27v, book 77, book 94 ff. unfoliated leaves after f.96, book 98 f. 131, book 100 f. 94v, book 176 f. 60, book 177 f. 100v. During the 1630s Lord Clifford generally employed the York waits (Bolton MSS book 172 f. 77, book 174 f. 96, book 177 ff. 100 and 266). A similar pattern exists in the accounts of the earls of Rutland and Devonshire and the Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury (HMC Rutland, IV, 462, 529, 468, 477, 504, 514 and 523; Hardwick MS 29 p. 737, Hardwick MS 7 ff. 111v, 112, 142v, 172v and 173).

63. Bolton MSS book 98 f. 137

64. Bolton MSS book 94 unfoliated leaves after f. 96 and book 97 f. 110

65. During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries religious drama was staged at Christmas and Easter, while the shrovetide entertainment was of a secular nature (Westfall, Patrons and Performance, 28). This distinction did not apply a century later.

Daniel's The vision of the twelve goddesses).[66] The season was celebrated in a similar fashion by some of the early Stuart nobility. Appendix VIII lists three Christmas entertainments. Sir Thomas Salusbury, a Welsh knight and kinsman of the earls of Derby, was commissioned by James Lord Strange to devise a Twelfth Night masque for performance at Knowsley, the family's Lancashire seat, on 6 January 1640/1. 'Designed & written in six howres space', the entertainment comprised an antimasque on the death of Christmas, taken from Middleton's A Masque of Heroes, followed by a 'grand masq.', staged in the temple of the new year in which the masquers, drawn from Lord Strange's family and servants, were dressed as the twelve months.[67]

Lady Rachel Fane's pastoral entertainment based on the four seasons was probably staged during the Christmas festivities at Apethorpe some time between her father's death in March 1629 and her marriage to the 5th Earl of Bath in December 1638.[68] The device contains several rustic elements including a 'fantastycal man' described as 'puk dresed in hifr [with] a white wand', masquing dances of shepherd folk and eight country measures danced by the assembled company.

The antimasque of the Earl of Newcastle's Christmas entertainment survives in an undated manuscript source, but the textual similarities between this device and the entertainment written for a pre-Civil War royal progress of Charles I strongly suggest that the masque was

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66. Between 1604 and her death in 1619 the queen was responsible for many of the Twelfth Night masques, including The Masque of Blackness (1605), The Masque of Queens (1609) and Love freed from ignorance and folly (1611).

67. R.J. Broadbent, 'A Masque at Knowsley', Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, new series 41 (1925), 1-16. Salusbury's masque is the only one to survive from the Stanley household, but in his will Christmas remembers 'this honnr'ble familie where I and all my predecessors have receav'd such bounteous entertainment.' P.G. Walls, 'Music in the English Masque in the first Half of the seventeenth Century', 2 vols (D. Phil., Oxford, 1975), I, 201

68. The text in Rachel's hand is preserved in a collection of poems and entertainments (KAO U269/F38/3 ff. 8v-11). The manuscript contains extracts from three other devices as well as a May day entertainment which can be dated to 1627 (ibid., ff. 3-4v).

performed at Welbeck during the late 1630s.[69] The antimasquers, dressed as tradesmen (an allusion to Jonson's Loves Wel-come staged at Bolsover in 1634), are approached by a Welsh clergyman, Up Thomas upp Ritcharde, 'vickar off the Invisible churtch off Norton', the neighbouring parish of Norton Cuckney and a former advowson of Welbeck Abbey, to devise 'summ Playe-Like-Maskecall Shoe' in celebration of the Christmas season.[70]

## II. HOSPITALITY

Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle described her husband as having 'always been free and noble in his entertainments and feastings.'[71] The liberal reception of guests and strangers regardless of their social status had a long medieval pedigree. Hospitality was recommended in prescriptive literature and formed part of the chivalric code of honour observed by the aristocracy and gentry.[72] Owing to their dominant position within the social hierarchy, noblemen in particular were morally obliged to spend generously on the entertainment of visitors. Indeed moderation was regarded with contempt whereas liberality and magnificence were considered virtues which brought greatness and prestige to the host.[73] This view, derived from Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics, informed the works of contemporary theorists who likened the aristocratic house to a stage on which the earl's virtues should be displayed. Music, often in conjunction with the other arts,

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69. Portland MSS PwV26 ff. 146-150 and PwV23. See L. Hulse, 'William Cavendish, 1st Earl of Newcastle's Caroline Entertainments: a critical edition', English Literary Renaissance (forthcoming)

70. K.S.S. Train (ed.), 'Lists of the Clergy of North Nottinghamshire', Thoroton Society, 20 (1961), 142-43

71. Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, The Life of...William Cavendish, 103

72. Peck, '"For a King not be bountiful were a fault"', 34; Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 42-44. Cicero's views on hospitality and liberality were particularly influential (R. L'Estrange (ed.), Tully's Offices (1680), 24-26, 104, 124-45). Several editions of Cicero's work, De Officiis, were published in Latin and English during the Tudor and Stuart periods.

73. R. Strong, Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650 (Woodbridge, 1984), 22; Heal, Hospitality in Early Modern England, 24

played an important role in this process.

Theoretically, hospitality extended to all ranks of society in their several degrees. As Plate 3 shows, the structural layout of the noble house was carefully designed to filter out unwanted visitors at each of its physical barriers. The gatehouse, for example, prevented the chronically poor from entering the courtyard, though many noblemen arranged for the daily distribution of alms at the gate.[74] During the Christmas season tenants and neighbours of lower social status traditionally enjoyed the nobleman's hospitality. For instance, on Twelfth Night 1617/8 the 4th Earl of Cumberland provided musical entertainment in the hall at Londesborough for the local community.[75]

1. Prodigality

Elizabethan moralists complained that Christian beneficence, the informal feeding of and generosity to the poor, was suffering at the expense of ceremonial hospitality, the selective entertainment of distinguished visitors and clients. The royal progress was seen as the major contributory factor in the demise of openhanded charity. Essentially a public relations act designed to consolidate support in the localities, the court's annual peregrination placed a considerable financial burden on its hosts.[76] The monarch travelled with a large retinue of servants and courtiers who had to be housed and entertained. In July 1591 the Earl of Hertford employed 300 artificers to adapt his relatively modest Hampshire property for the queen's visit. As well as creating the pond on which the greater part of a four-day entertainment was enacted, workmen added two wings and a large gallery to Elvetham house. The existing upper gallery was lavishly refurbished as the queen's private apartment and over twenty temporary structures were built to house the court including lodgings and a room of estate for the nobility.[77] Building programmes of this nature declined during the

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74. Heal, ibid., 33

75. Bolton MSS book 97 f. 109

76. Heal, Hospitality in Early Modern England, 163; Bergeron, English Civic Pageantry, 9; Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 449-54

77. Boyle, 'Elizabeth's Entertainment at Elvetham', 147

early Stuart period as the king travelled less, though Salisbury's new property at Hatfield was conceived as an occasional royal residence. The first floor east and west wings each comprised a suite of state rooms for the use of James I and his consort, Anne of Denmark.

Royal banquets and entertainments were occasionally the subject of criticism because of their excessive prodigality. Burghley's indulgence of the queen was defended on the grounds that it was his duty as the chief minister of state:[78]

> His lordships extraordinary Chardg in Entertynment of the Quene was greater to him, then to anie of her Subjects. For he enterteyned her at his House twelve severall Tymes. Which cost him two or three Thousand Pounds every Tyme. [The Queen] lyeing there, at his lordships Chardg, sometymes three Weeks [or] a Moneth, yea six Weeks together. But his love to his Sovereigne, and Joye to enterteyn her & her Traine was so greate, as he thought no troble, Care, nor Cost to[o] much [but] all to[o] little, so it weare bountifully performed to her Majesties Recreation, & the Contentment of her Traine. Her Majesty sometymes had [also] Straungers & Ambassadors come to her at Theobalds. Where she hath byn sene in as great Royalty, & served as bountifully & magnificently, as at anie other Tyme or Place, all at his Lordships Chardg. With rich Shows, pleasant Devices, & all Manner of Sports [that] cold be devised.

In his Star Chamber speech of 1616 James advised against 'monsterous gluttonie' and pleaded for a return to moderate hospitality.[79] But the king's efforts to curb the prodigality of his subjects were thwarted by his royal favourites. Within a few months the Scottish peer, James Lord Hay, had introduced lavish dining after the French manner. Hay is reported to have spent over £600 on the banquet which accompanied Jonson's masque, Lovers made men, staged in honour of the French

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78. F. Peck, Desiderata Curiosa, 2 vols (1732), I, 32-33; A.G.R. Smith, Servant of the Cecils: The Life of Sir Michael Hickes (1977), 29 and 186 note 1. Elizabeth was entertained at Theobalds in 1564, 1571, 1572, 1575, 1577, 1578 (2), 1583, 1591, 1594, 1597 and 1598 (J. Nichols, The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth, 3 vols (1828), I, 149, 291, 308, 417; II, 55, 93, 108, 400; III, 74, 241, 419, 427).

79. This view was first expressed in Basilikon Doron, James's treatise on the duties of a prince, published in 1599, and reprinted several times in England after the Stuart succession. Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset is reputed to have 'much diminish[ed] his estate, as also with excessive prodigality in housekeeping, and other noble ways at court, as tilting, masquing and the like' (The Lives of Lady Anne Clifford, 46).

ambassador in February 1617.[80]

In the 1625 edition of his Essays Bacon wrote that masques should be 'graced with elegancy, rather than daubed with cost', a view shared by the 4th Earl of Cumberland who in anticipation of James's 1617 visit to Brougham Castle warned his son that 'the charge for entertaynment will grow very great, besyde the musick'.[81] The Cliffords' ostentatious patronage belies the financial crisis which faced them following the 3rd Earl's death in 1605. Throughout the early Stuart period they were repeatedly advised to restrain their expenditure while maintaining a level of decorum commensurate with their rank.[82] It is somewhat surprising that Cumberland should have focused on the cost of 'the musick', generally one of the least expensive forms of conspicuous consumption. In the absence of detailed financial evidence it is impossible to verify the earl's claim.[83] However, the accounts for the lord treasurer's show presented before the king at Salisbury House in May 1608 are revealing in this respect. Salisbury's royal entertainment cost £203 14s of which the music came to £6 15s 6d (£6 for the hire of musicians and 15s 6d for the repair of instruments).[84] This sum excludes the running costs incurred in maintaining a permanent group of musicians. Nevertheless, the percentage spent on music for the lord

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80. L.S. Marcus, The Politics of Mirth (Chicago, 1986), 121-23

81. M.J. Hawkins (ed.), 'Essay XXXVII "Of Masques and Triumphs"', Francis Bacon's Essays (1985), 115. One historian claimed that James Lord Strange 'critically studied the characters which ought to distinguish masques' (Raines, 'Private Devotions and Miscellanies of James, 7th Earl of Derby', Chetham Society, 66 (1867), xix). In fact the comments noted in Strange's commonplace book are taken from Bacon's essay (Worcester College Oxford MS xxxiv p. 20). Bacon himself had been the victim of excessive prodigality in pursuit of advancement. He had financed singlehandedly the cost of The Masque of Flowers presented during the 1613-14 marriage festivities of his patron Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset and Lady Frances Howard. According to Chamberlain, Bacon's obligations were such 'as well to his Majesty, as to the great Lord [Somerset], and to the whole House of Howards, as he can admit no partners' (McClure, The Letters of John Chamberlain, I, 493). Whitaker, The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven, 369

82. Butler, 'A Provincial Masque of Comus, 1636', 151-53

83. Spence has estimated that the visit cost in the region of £1,500 of which £225 was spent on the masque and the music ('A Royal Progress in the North', 85).

84. Salisbury MSS bills 22 and 33

treasurer's show is minimal. Cumberland's outlay in 1617 cannot have been prohibitive in that he already patronised at least four musicians, two of whom composed the ayres sung during the king's three-day visit. Furthermore, the earl's servants had a large number of instruments at their disposal which we know were used at Brougham. What then prompted his anxiety? Perhaps in using the terms 'entertaynment' and 'musick' he was actually referring more widely to the provision of commensal hospitality and to the dramatic shows which his son had devised.

## 2. Reciprocity

Hospitality was linked to the notion of reciprocity. Some moralists ordained that liberality and munificence were rewarded in heaven, but the majority of Englishmen were less patient and sought recompense on earth. Host and guest were aware of the advantages to be gained from the public display of virtue. Ceremonial hospitality was designed to have a reciprocal effect, the value of which was not measured simply in monetary terms. The nobility were trading in less tangible assets such as honour, allegiance, deference and favour. Lord Burghley recommended generosity to kindred and allies, 'for by this Meanes thou shalt so double the band of nature, as thou shalt find so many Advocates to plead an Apology for thee behind thy back.'[85] Burghley's opinion was widely shared, though his nephew Francis Bacon stressed that 'extraordinary expense must be limited by the worth of the occasion'.[86] Many of the private entertainments listed in Appendix VIII functioned as part of the currency of obligations on both a local and national level. The public display of liberality and magnificence reinforced the earl's hegemony within the county community. On the arrival of a royal guest the nobleman assumed the dual role of patron and client. The monarch was the recipient of noble hospitality, but he was also the pinnacle of social hierarchy to whose authority the host must defer. However, convention permitted the nobleman to exploit his inferior position in relation to the king in order to create or satisfy an obligation. For example, as the crown's representatives in the shires the earls of Cumberland and Newcastle were expected to provide

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85. Heal, Hospitality in Early Modern England, 19; Burghley, 'Certain Precepts', 11

86. Hawkins, 'Essay XXVIII "Of Expense"', 87

entertainment and safe passage when the king progressed through their domains. Both noblemen used the occasion to advance their own interests through the pursuit of royal favour.

In the spring and summer of 1617 James visited Scotland for the first time since his accession to the English throne. Cumberland, in his capacity as the lord lieutenant and sheriff of Westmorland, was among the 'persons of quality' who entertained the king on his return journey from Edinburgh.[87] James arrived on 6 August 1617 at Brougham Castle, the earl's principal northern residence, where according to one observer, the court was provided with a great feast 'the lyke [of which] was not [seen] in Westmorland these manie yeares.'[88] The text no longer survives, but the ayres composed by George Mason and John Earsden were published the following year. The song book is unique in being the only complete edition of entertainment music to be printed in England during the Elizabethan and early Stuart periods, and as such it has aroused considerable interest among music historians.[89] Yet none of the secondary sources has addressed the underlying motive which prompted Cumberland to stage the Brougham show and to finance the publication of the ayres.

The final chorus of the second dialogue sung during the king's welcome on 6 August contains a vital clue:

> Let that one of all be praised,
> That hath our fortunes raised.

James would have been fully aware of the significance of this remark. The Westmorland castle in which he was entertained that evening had been one of several properties cited in a twelve-year inheritance dispute between Cumberland and his niece, Lady Anne Clifford, the outcome of which had been settled by royal arbitration only three days

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87. W.D. Macray (ed.), Clarendon's History of the Rebellion (1888), Book 1, 102

88. R.T. Spence, 'The Cliffords Earls of Cumberland, 1576-1646 (Ph.D., London, 1959), 239

89. Mason and Earsden, The Ayres that were sung and played at Brougham Castle in the King's entertainment (1618). See for example, I. Spink, 'Campion's Entertainment at Brougham Castle, 1617', Music in English Renaissance Drama, ed. J.H. Long, 57-74

prior to the commencement of the Scottish progress.[90]

Brougham Castle was given to the 4th Earl on 29 March 1617. The acquisition of the Westmorland estates had certainly raised Cumberland's fortunes. After Craven in Yorkshire they were the Cliffords' biggest source of income. The revenues from Westmorland increased the annual net income from the estates by approximately 33%. The king's entertainment at Brougham Castle was therefore a public statement of gratitude to the British Solomon.[91] Yet it is ironic that following the death of the 5th Earl in December 1643 the Cliffords failed in the male line. Thus Anne became entitled by law to enter her rightful inheritance.

In May 1633 Charles I embarked on the same journey northwards as his father had done sixteen years earlier to be crowned king of his native country. Lord Cottington, chancellor of the exchequer, informed the Earl of Newcastle that the king desired his attendance into Nottinghamshire, and advised him, 'I conceave [it] wyll be a good motive for your frendes to put it to a period.'[92] Newcastle was anxious for some tangible recognition from the crown. The Scottish royal progress represented a suitable occasion on which to entertain Charles in his home county and thereby oblige the monarch to him.

Newcastle could not boast a distinguished career in public office. He had briefly sat in the Commons as M.P. for East Retford and subsequently enjoyed a number of local appointments, the most important of which was the joint lord lieutenancy of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire.[93] During the 1630s he made considerable efforts to secure

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90. The main events of the inheritance dispute are outlined in Appendix IX.

91. The British Solomon or peacemaker was a prominent iconographical motif of the reign (Parry, The Golden Age Restored, 21). As the spiritual descendant of the Hebrew kings James was also identified with David. The emblematic harp of Ireland which formed part of the royal standard was interpreted as the British David's harp which brought peace and harmony to the united kingdoms under James's divine rule (Parry, op. cit., 231-32). Significantly, this symbol appears on the title page of The Ayres that were sung and played.

92. Lbl Add. MS 70499 f. 156 (formerly Portland loan 29/235)

93. He served as a justice of the peace for the counties of Nottingham (1618-44), Derby (1624-44) and Stafford (1624-44). I am grateful to John Ferris of the History of Parliament Trust for this

a court post, to which end he enlisted the support of prominent ministers including his old college friend, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford and William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. Newcastle apparently desired an office of 'nearness to the King's person'; rumours included gentleman of the bedchamber and master of the horse (a particularly apt appointment given the earl's equestrian prowess).[94] However, by 1636 Newcastle had set his sights on the governorship of the young Prince Charles.

On 21 May 1633 the king travelled from Worksop Manor where he had been residing to Newcastle's Nottinghamshire estate at Welbeck. According to Clarendon, Charles was 'received and entertained by the Earl...at his own proper expense, in such a wonderful manner, and in such excess of feasting as had never before been known in England.'[95] The monarch's brief visit is reputed to have cost the earl between £4,000 and £5,000.[96] Newcastle's liberal reception included a dramatised equestrian show, The King's Entertainment at Welbeck, devised by his old friend and servant, Ben Jonson.

Newcastle's efforts failed to achieve the desired appointment. However, Charles was so delighted with the show that he asked the earl to entertain him and the queen on their summer progress the following year. 'I am so much plunged in Debt', Newcastle wrote to Strafford, '...that it is better to give over in Time with some Loss than to lose all, and mend what is to come, seeing what is past is not in my Power to help. Besides, my Lord, if I obtained what I desire, it would be a more painful Life...'.[97]

Newcastle's despondency soon passed. In July 1634 he attempted once again to influence the king. Strafford wrote to Newcastle shortly before the six-day royal visit to assure him that his brother would

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information.

94. T. Birch (ed.), The Court and Times of Charles the First, 2 vols (1848), II, 187; Trease, Portrait of a Cavalier, 71

95. Macray, Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Book 1, 104-05

96. Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, The Life of...William Cavendish, 103

97. W. Knowler (ed.), The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Despatches, 2 vols (1739), II, 101

urge suitors at court to speak to the monarch on Newcastle's behalf.[98] Also he advised Newcastle to accompany the royal party after its departure from Welbeck in order to approach Charles privately on the subject. Newcastle surpassed himself in the level of hospitality which he furnished on the royal couple. In Clarendon's words, the earl 'made the King and Queen a more stupendous entertainment: which (God be thanked), though possibly it might too whet the appetite of others to excess, no man ever after imitated.' Lady Newcastle claimed that her husband spent between £14,000 and £15,000, 'spar[ing] nothing that might add splendour to that feast.' The royal visit included Jonson's Loves Wel-come...at Bolsover, staged during a brief visit to the earl's Derbyshire estate.

Newcastle's munificence brought a flood of dedications which enhanced his reputation as a patron of the arts.[99] Recognition trickled from the crown. In 1635 Henrietta Maria bestowed on him the stewardship of Pontefract, and the following year he was made guardian of the 2nd Duke of Buckingham.[100] Newcastle attended court during the spring of 1636 in anticipation of further royal bounty, though he soon reported to his wife, 'I am monstrous weary allreadye off this place.'[101] At least four other candidates were suing for the governorship of Prince Charles, though Newcastle was commended as the most appropriate.[102] However, rumours were spreading around Whitehall that he was not fit to attend the prince being 'off no religion neyther fear[ing] God nor the Divell belev[ing] Heaven or Hell.'[103] According

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98. Knowler, ibid., 274-75

99. John Ford, The Chronicle History of Perkin Warbeck (1634); James Shirley, The Traitor (1635); William Sampson, Virtus post Funera Vivit (1636)

100. Knowler, Strafforde's Letters, I, 506; J. Bruce (ed.), Calendar of State Papers (CSPD) 1635-36 (1866), 342

101. Ibl Add. MS 70499 f. 113. Hobbes commiserated over the uncertainty of Newcastle's appointment, 'but my Lord, he that will venture to sea must resolve to endure all weather, but for my part I love to keepe a land. And it may be your Lo'p now will do so...' (ibid., f. 128, dated 29 July 1636 o.s., Paris).

102. Ibl Add. MS 70499 f. 115; Portland MS Pw1/63

103. Ibl Add. MS 70499 f. 115

to Clarendon, Newcastle supported the orthodox Church of England 'as it was well constituted for the splendour and security of the crown...without any passion for the particular opinions which were grown up in it and distinguished it into parties...'.[104] The earl's wisdom and prudence had earned him considerable respect from Archbishop Laud, and he was a beneficiary of the prelate's will.[105] However, it is not easy to define Newcastle's theological position during the 1630s; the most that one can say of him is that he was conservative and secular minded.

Newcastle made one final attempt to secure a royal appointment by means of a dramatic show. During a hunting trip in Sherwood Forest in the summer of 1636 the king and his German nephews, the Elector Palatine Charles Louis and Prince Rupert of the Rhine, were entertained in Welbeck park. Deprived of their inheritance by Spanish imperialism, the protestant princes had arrived in England in search of military support. One newsletter reported that 'all the greatest lords vie with each other in entertaining [them] at noble and sumptuous banquets.'[106] Newcastle's hospitality cost him a further £1,500, a relatively modest sum in comparison to his earlier attempts to achieve recognition, but one which tilted the balance in his favour.[107] In 1638 the triple appointment of governor to the prince, sole gentleman of the bedchamber and groom of the stole was finally conferred upon him.

Sadly Newcastle's advancement was short lived. In 1640 his ally, the Earl of Strafford, was accused of high treason and incarcerated in the Tower of London. Newcastle was implicated in the army plot which attempted to free Strafford, and was therefore removed from a position of such intimacy to the prince of Wales.[108] He was replaced by the Earl of Hertford in 1641 and retired to the Midlands where for a time he

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104. G. Huehns (ed.), Clarendon: Selections from the History of the Rebellion and The Life by Himself (Oxford, 1978), 256

105. Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, The Life of...William Cavendish, 98. Laud bequeathed to Newcastle a ring worth nearly £200.

106. Quoted in M. Butler, Theatre and Crisis 1632-1642 (Cambridge, 1984), 31

107. Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, op. cit., 104

108. C.R.S. Russell, 'The first army plot of 1641', Transactions of the RHS, 5th series 38 (1988), 85-106, see esp. p. 93

could reflect on that 'foolish ambition of glorious slavery [which] carried him to the court, where he ran himself much into debt, to purchase neglects of the king and queen, and scorns of the proud courtiers.'[109]

## III. ASSOCIATION WITH THE CROWN

In 1618 Nicholas Breton published a tract entitled The Court and Country, or A Briefe Discourse betweene the Courtier and Country-man; of the Manner, Nature, and Condition of their lives, in which the courtier contrasted the monotony of his cousin's existence in the country with 'the gallant life of the Court, where so many are the choices of contentment, as if on earth it were the paradise of the world.'[110] The extent of the polarity between court and country remains one of the more contentious issues in the debate over the causes of the Civil War. Zagorin and Stone, for example, have argued that the conflict was not only rooted in political and religious differences, but that early Stuart England was 'experiencing all the tensions created by the development within a society of two distinct cultures, cultures that were reflected in ideals, religion, art, literature, the theatre, dress, deportment and way of life.'[111] Revisionist historians have since attacked the idea of a court-country split among the gentry and aristocracy. The system of patronage prevailing in early modern England meant that most noblemen were politically active in both the court and the provinces, though court and country could operate as 'an ideological framework within which people viewed politics.'[112]

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109. W.D. Hamilton (ed.), CSPD 1641-43 (rep. 1967), 24; Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, The Life of...William Cavendish, 8; Hutchinson, Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson, 95. One report suggests that Newcastle spent £40,000 in office (CSPD 1641-43, 63).

110. Hazlitt, Inedited Tracts, 179

111. P. Zagorin The Court and the Country: The Beginning of the English Revolution (1970); L. Stone, Causes of the English Revolution (1972), quotation taken from p. 106

112. R. Cust and A. Hughes, 'Introduction: after Revisionism', Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642, eds R. Cust and A. Hughes (1989), 1-46, see esp. pp. 14, 19-22

Cultural historians of the 1980s argue that the bipolar model is too simplistic an interpretation of seventeenth-century artistic and literary taste. Smuts, for example, has demonstrated that the court was not culturally isolated from the rest of England, and that its sphere of influence was greater than has previously been acknowledged.[113]

The fluid structure of the English court was vital to the interaction of royal and aristocratic patronage. In its narrowest sense the court comprised the departments of the royal household responsible for the monarch's personal and ceremonial needs, in other words, the chamber (under the control of the lord chamberlain) and the household below stairs (administered by the lord steward).[114] Strictly speaking the court excluded individuals who did not hold office within the royal household, but the nobility by virtue of their rank were granted access to the privy chamber.[115] In effect, they were permitted to cross the royal equivalent of the dias step. Freedom of access to the monarch greatly enhanced the development of court culture.[116] Moreover, the relative informality of court patronage enabled the king's servants to pursue part of their career outside royal service while poets, artists and musicians independent of Whitehall were occasionally employed by the crown. For example, the 2nd Earl of Salisbury's musicians Nicholas Lanier and John Coprario wrote songs and dances for the Jacobean court masque.[117] Indeed, as Butler has noted, 'the crown had neither the

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113. Smuts, Court Culture

114. Peck, 'The mental world of the Jacobean court', 3; Smuts, Court Culture, 4; Aylmer, The King's Servants, 472-73

115. Sharpe, 'The image of virtue', 233-34, 244-45

116. Salisbury, in his capacity as secretary of state, occupied chambers within the royal palace. Musical instruments were transported to and from his Whitehall lodgings during the first decade of James's reign (see, for example, Salisbury MSS bills 14).

117. Lanier: Maske...at the Marriage of...the Earl of Somerset (1613); Coprario: The Lords Masque (1613), Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn (1613); Maske...at the Marriage of...the Earl of Somerset (1613)

money nor the machinery to dominate or arbitrate taste.'[118] The umbrella of court patronage embraced a large group of noblemen with varying shades of political and artistic opinion. This was made possible by the influx of landowners attracted to the capital in the wake of the political stability of the Tudor period.[119] The oldest and most important noble houses were built in Westminster along the north bank of the river Thames in close proximity to the royal palaces of Whitehall, Denmark House and St James.[120] Others like Southampton House, Dorset House and Baynard's Castle (earls of Pembroke) were situated in the city of London, or in the villages to the north and west such as Hammersmith and Chelsea where the earls of Mulgrave and Middlesex resided.[121] But the number of 'stately palaces' remained comparatively small. Most of the peers who attended the court either lived in rented accommodation or in modest houses on leasehold.[122] For example, the Cliffords almost invariably spent three to four months of the year in lodgings close to Whitehall including Little Salisbury House adjacent to Robert Cecil's principal residence in the Strand; Mistress Ogle's house near Britain's Burse; St Martin's Lane, one of

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118. M. Butler, 'Early Stuart Court Culture: Compliment or Criticism?', The Historical Journal, 32/2 (1989), 425-35, see esp. p. 427. R.M. Smuts, 'Cultural diversity and cultural change at the court of James I', The Mental World of the Jacobean Court, ed. L.L. Peck, 99-112, see esp. p. 101

119. C.S. Sykes, Private Palaces; Life in the Great London Houses (1985), 14-16; Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 394-95; Fisher, 'The development of London as a centre of conspicuous consumption in the 16th and 17th centuries'

120. Denmark House, also known as Somerset House, was occupied by the queen during the early Stuart period. The monarch alternated between Whitehall and St James's Palace except when the latter was occupied by Henry or Charles as prince of Wales.

121. C.L. Kingsford, 'Historical Notes on Medieval London Houses', London Topographical Record, 12 (1920), 1-66, see esp. pp. 14-16

122. The term 'stately palaces' is taken from Moryson's 1617 description of London's great houses (quoted in Sykes, Private Palaces, 14). Sykes attributes the small number of great houses to the erratic nature of parliamentary life which for many years was not regular enough to justify maintaining a large London establishment, and to the fact that building was discouraged because of the comparative rarity of freeholds (Sykes, ibid., 21).

the fashionable new streets to the north; and the Piazza at Covent Garden, developed by the 4th Earl of Bedford in the 1630s.[123] The nobility were therefore exposed to the fashions of the court and its environs during the months which they spent in London. Besides, temporary residence in the metropolis was not a prerequisite to the dissemination of court culture. An active network of correspondents informed patrons and kinsmen living in the provinces of shifts in artistic and literary taste.

To what extent did the crown influence the development of aristocratic musical culture and was this process reciprocal? Were the innovations attributed to royal patronage widely disseminated during the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods, and how quickly did changes in musical taste percolate down to the provinces? In order to assess the interaction of private and royal patronage the remainder of this section examines three areas of musical taste: the assimilation of foreign musical cultures such as the madrigal, Italianate consorts for voices and instruments and the style brisé; the dissemination of court music including the solo lyra style, consorts for viols and violins, and the masque; and musical innovations beyond the confines of the royal household which had relatively little impact on court taste, namely the English or mixed consort and the castrato voice.

**1. The assimilation of foreign musical culture**

Cultural historians have argued that the reestablishment of friendly relations between England and Spain in 1604 resulted in the greater assimilation of foreign habits and tastes under the early Stuarts than had previously been the case. Patronage studies of the fine arts would appear to support this view.[124] However, the same cannot be said of music which throughout the period 1558-1642 continually absorbed and adapted continental styles though, as John Milsom has noted, the English maintained 'a strong sense of national

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123. Bolton MSS books 96, 73, 97 and 91

124. See, for example, Smuts, Court Culture, 8, 117-18

identity' and respect for their musical heritage.[125] Patrons were slow to adopt or, in some instances, ignored the most recent musical innovations from abroad. Nevertheless, at no point during the second half of the sixteenth century did the political instability of Europe stifle the dissemination of foreign musical culture. Italian and Dutch music prints were readily available from London and provincial booksellers. Continental-made instruments were imported into England by professionals and amateurs alike. Moreover, English musicians travelled widely abroad and served in European courts. At home, a major part of the queen's musical establishment comprised foreigners including Italians, Flemish and huguenot refugees. Northern European musicians were also employed in the households of the Elizabethan nobility and gentry.

The patronage of foreign music and musicians was closely allied to aristocratic education. Youths intent on pursing a career in public service were recommended to acquire a knowledge of foreign languages and customs, particularly of France and Italy. Courtly accomplishments not only formed part of the gentleman's education abroad but they were also a vital ingredient to the success of the aspiring courtier. First-hand experience of continental music trends obtained under the guidance of a foreign master or acquired through contact with professional singers and instrumentalists employed in foreign ecclesiastical, academic or court institutions undoubtedly influenced the development of English taste.

The influence of the madrigal

The desire to emulate Italian culture ensured the unrivalled popularity of the madrigal during the late Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, though the dissemination of Italian music in general can be dated back to the first half of the sixteenth century.[126] At least

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125. J. Milsom, 'Music', The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain, III, ed. B. Ford, 169-207, see esp. p. 178

126. The widespread popularity of the Italian madrigal coincided with the poetical developments of the final two decades of the sixteenth century. The introduction of trochaics and the return of feminine rhymes in the works of Sir Philip Sidney were due in part to his experiences in Italy in the 1570s and to the cultural environment in which he grew up. For example, the library of his sister, Mary,

eight of the patrons listed in Appendix I possessed Italian or Italianate prints and manuscripts. Nicholas Yonge's Musica Transalpina (1588), England's first printed anthology of translated madrigals, was dedicated to the Nottinghamshire peer, Gilbert Lord Talbot, who later inherited the earldom of Shrewsbury. The future earl, who was a devotee of Italian culture, had been educated in Padua and Venice and returned to Italy on several occasions.[127] He regularly corresponded with English travellers on the fine arts. For example, on a visit to Italy in 1609 his former secretary, Thomas Coke, compared the Medici villa at Pratolino with the earl's newly built lodge at Worksop park and described at some length the contents of the grand duke's picture and sculpture gallery. The same year Salisbury's nephew William Lord Burghley recommended to Shrewsbury the works of certain Italian artists and sculptors whom he had encountered during his foreign travels.[128] In England Shrewsbury maintained close links with the Italian community. He was friendly with wealthy foreign merchants including Sir Horatio

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Countess of Pembroke, contained 'a great many Italian bookes; all their poets; and bookes of politie and historie' (Aubrey, Natural History of Wiltshire, 86). Lady Mary was also the dedicatee of Morley's Canzonets...to three voyces (1593). It was Sidney's intention that many of his poems should be set to music. Writing to his friend, Edward Denny, in 1580, Sidney charged him 'to remember with your good voyce to singe my songes for they will one well become an other' (Osborn, Young Philip Sidney, 540). Certaine Sonnets (c. 1581) contains eight examples of which six were modelled on Italian and Spanish villanelle. The source for Sidney's Italian songs has not been identified, but a seventeenth-century library catalogue from Penshurst contains an entry to 'canti delle villanelle' (KAO U1475/Z45/2 f. 27v). However, two of the tunes referred to in Certaine Sonnets survive in a set of partbooks at Winchester College (see F.J. Fabry, 'Sidney's Poetry and Italian Song-Form', English Literary Renaissance, 3 (1973), 232-48; Fabry, 'Sidney's Verse Adaptations to two 16th-Century Italian Songs', Renaissance Quarterly, 23 (1970), 237-55; J. Stevens, 'Sir Philip Sidney and "Versified Music": Melodies for Courtly Songs', The Well Enchanting Skill: Music, Poetry and Drama in the Culture of the Renaissance, Essays in Honour of F.W. Sternfeld, eds J. Caldwell, E. Olleson and S. Wollenberg (Oxford, 1990), 153-69, see esp. pp. 157-62; Feuillerat, The Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney, II, 302, 304, 314, 317-18).

127. See Chapter 6, p. 167; D. Howarth, 'Lord Arundel as a Patron and Collector 1604-40' (Ph.D., Cambridge, 1979), 6-8

128. J.I. Whalley, 'Italian Art and English Taste: An Early-Seventeenth-Century Letter', Apollo (Sept. 1971), 184-91, see esp. pp. 187-90

Pallavicino, manager of commissions for the purchase of rarities from Italy, and he patronised Italians involved in the artistic endeavours of the Jacobean court.[129]

Very little is known about Shrewsbury's musical taste. The Victoria and Albert Museum copy of the tenor partbook from Yonge's Musica Transalpina may have originally belonged to the earl's library, but the Talbot armorial binding in which it is preserved is not in itself conclusive proof of Shrewsbury's enthusiasm for Italian music, though it would be entirely in keeping with his taste in the other arts. Several other members of the Talbot-Cavendish family circle are known to have favoured Italian music. For example, Shrewsbury's son-in-law, Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, patronised the Venetian composer and writer Alessandro Gatti.[130] There is good reason to believe that Shrewsbury's stepbrother and brother-in-law, Sir Charles Cavendish I, a poetaster and music lover, was the anonymous translator of Musica Transalpina.[131] Yonge admitted to having printed the English translations without the poet's knowledge, but hoped that by choosing Talbot as dedicatee he might deflect Cavendish's criticism:

> ...assuring myself that so great is the love and affection which he beareth to your lordship as the view of your name in

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129. Pallavicino's son was educated in Shrewsbury's house (L. Stone, An Elizabethan: Sir Horatio Pallavicino (Oxford, 1956), 33). The Tuscan poet Antimo Galli who lived 'sotto la pretezione e padronanza' of Lady Elizabeth Grey, Shrewsbury' s daughter, may also have served in the earl's Nottinghamshire household (Rimo di Antimo Galli All'Illustrissima Signora Elizabeth Talbot-Grey (1609); J. Orrell, 'Antimo Galli's description of the Masque of Beauty', Huntington Lib. Q., 43/1 (1979), 13-23, see esp. p.14)

130. T.V. Wilks, 'The Court Culture of Prince Henry and his Circle, 1603-1613' (D. Phil., Oxford, 1987), 81-82; Arundel Castle Archives letterbook 1587-1617 no. 205, n.d. but c. 1615. Lady Elizabeth Grey's servant, Antimo Galli, was also a close friend of Angelo Notari (Prime Musiche Nuove, 1613).

131. G.A. Philipps, 'John Wilbye's Other Patrons: The Cavendishes and their Place in English Musical Life during the Renaissance', Music Review, 38 (1977), 81-93, see esp. p. 84; Arundel Castle Archives letterbook 1587-1617, nos 189-190, Cavendish to the Countess of Shrewsbury, 17 April 1614. In The first set of English Madrigals (1598) John Wilbye praised Cavendish I for '[his] excellent skill in Musicke, and...great love and favour of Musicke.' A musician named Thomas Yonge, possibly a relative of the anthologist, served the Talbot family from at least the 1580s and was subsequently employed in Cavendish's household (Lambeth PL MS 3199 p. 221; Seymour papers vol. xxii f. 7v).

the front of the books will take away all displeasure and unkindness from me.

The relationship outlined in Yonge's dedication parallels the 'entire friendship' which existed between Talbot and his stepbrother.[132] Cavendish I regularly lived in the earl's household and managed his financial affairs. He supported Shrewsbury's political dominance in the Midlands against considerable opposition from the county elite and shared the earl's Catholic sympathies.

By far the largest collection of Italian prints cited in Appendix V was amassed by Sir William Cavendish (brother to Sir Charles), between the years 1598 and 1614. Very little is known about the formation of his cultural interests, though his musical preferences would appear to conform with the mainstream of contemporary musical taste. Cavendish acquired at least seventeen prints of madrigals, canzonets and balletts published in England between 1588 and 1613 in addition to Yonge's and Watson's translated anthologies, approximately two-thirds of the total number of Italianate publications printed in England during the period. He was particularly keen on the works of Thomas Morley and purchased all but two of his collections, though the Canzonets...to five and six voices (1597) and Madrigals to five voices (1598) may be included among the unidentified songbooks listed in the appendix.[133] Cavendish also acquired over twenty continental prints, five from the executors of his servant, Thomas Cutting, and the rest from London booksellers importing music from Antwerp and Venice. Six months after buying Yonge's Musica Transalpina (April 1599) he purchased three of Phalèse's anthologies of Italian madrigals, Musica Divina, Melodia Olympica and Harmonia Celeste. It is difficult to fathom what motivated Cavendish's personal choice of Italian composers, though his preference for the music of Luca Marenzio

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132. Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, The Life of...William Cavendish, 72

133. Price suggests that Cavendish was especially acquainted with Morley because of his purchase in December 1601 of The Triumphs of Oriana which he claims though printed in that year was not sold until after the queen's death (Patrons and Musicians, 116). While it is true that Morley's publication was not entered in the Stationers' Register until 15 October 1603 it was listed with other items published up to six years earlier (R. Strong, 'Queen Elizabeth I as Oriana', Studies in the Renaissance, 6 (1959), 251-60, see esp. p. 253). Therefore one cannot conclude that the composer was personally known to Cavendish.

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reflects the latter's considerable popularity in England at this time. His decision to buy Piccioni's Il pastor fido (1602) in September 1604 could have been influenced by the recent English translation of Guarini's text (1602; STC no. 12415) while Morley's The First Booke of Balletts (1595), composed in imitation of Gastoldi, may account for the collection of 'balleti' purchased in October 1599, though it is impossible to determine if Cavendish was aware of Morley's debt to the Italian composer.[134] Indeed, it is questionable whether or not Cavendish was a discerning patron of Italian music. The purchase dates of his collection coincide with the period in which his children received training in music and may therefore reflect the taste of their tutors. Equally, the persuasive sales' technique of the bookseller, John Norton, with whom the family dealt may account for the acquisition of particular items. One cannot help but be struck by the pattern of Cavendish's purchases. The majority of Italian works were acquired in two bulk orders. The first dating from October 1599 comprised eight books published in Antwerp by Pierre Phalèse, either solely or jointly with Jean Bellère; the second almost five years later included nine collections of madrigals printed in Italy.

There can be little doubt where Sir Robert Cecil's cultural sympathies lay. Despite Lord Burghley's invective against Italy, the taste of his younger son is typical of England's Italianate courtiers and reflects that of his close friend the 7th Earl of Shrewsbury. Cecil's travels abroad were limited to a brief period at the French court in 1584, but his circle of friends and advisers comprised Italians and Englishmen who had resided on the continent. From at least 1603 he patronised Coprario whose early instrumental compositions included arrangements of his own Italianate madrigals as well as parodies of the works of Alfonso Ferrabosco the elder and Marenzio. In addition, he generously rewarded Morley for his dedication of The First Booke of Balletts in both its English and Italian translations.[135] Cecil's patronage of the fine arts shared much in common with his

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134. Probably Phalèse's edition of Gastoldi's Balletti published in 1596.

135. G. Dodd, Thematic Index of Music for Viols (1980-89), 'Coprario 4-10', J. Wess, 'Musica Transalpina, Parody and the Emerging Viol Fantasia', Chelys, 15 (1986), 3-25; Salisbury MSS vol. 62/77

musical taste. His painting collection included works by Italian mannerists and old masters. The decoration of the chapel at Hatfield was inspired by the works of Venetian mannerists. Outdoors on Cecil's Hertfordshire estate Salomon de Caus adapted the Italian terrace system to the traditional setting of the English country house.[136]

The cosmopolitanism of the early Stuart court

The cosmopolitanism of the early Stuart court vitally affected the course of aristocratic taste in both the fine arts and music. One of the most important cultural influences of the first decade of James's reign was the formation of Prince Henry's household. Following his creation as prince of Wales in June 1610 Henry acquired an establishment of thirteen musicians, the composition of which was novel at court. The traditional pattern of dividing musicians into consorts made up for the most part of a single instrumental family continued in the main royal household until the accession of Charles I in 1625 when the 'private music' was established. However, the prince's ensemble comprised mostly singer/lutenists who performed a variety of mixed vocal and instrumental scorings with a bias towards plucked instruments in the manner of Italian Baroque practice.[137] This shift from whole to mixed consorts and the employment of the Paduan singer-lutenist Angelo Notari bear testimony to the prince's interest in Italian culture. Furthermore, Notari's collection Prime musiche nuove (London, 1613) illustrates the repertory performed by Henry's ensemble. The publication is typical of contemporary Italian prints in containing monodies and canzonettas for one to three voices with unfigured basso continuo scored for theorbo and other instruments.

Some of the lutenists associated with Henry's court experimented with the style brisé.[138] From the mid-Elizabethan period through to the early years of the seventeenth century the school of English lute

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136. E. Auerbach and C. Kingsley Adams, Paintings and Sculptures at Hatfield House (1971), 26, 104; M.A.E. Green (ed.), CSPD 1611-1618 (1858), 4; Strong, The Renaissance Garden in England, 103-10

137. According to W.H., the prince 'loved Musicke, and namely good consorts of Instruments and voices ioyned together' (Strong, Henry Prince of Wales, 173).

138. M. Spring, 'The Lute in England and Scotland after the Golden Age, 1620-1750', 2 vols (D. Phil., Oxford, 1987), I, 89

playing had been indebted to Adrian le Roy whose manuals, A briefe and easye Instrution [sic] to learne the tablature... (1568) and A briefe and plaine instruction to set all musicke of eight divers tunes in tablature for the lute (1574), were the first lute tutors to be printed in England.[139] Vocal intabulations formed the staple diet of sixteenth-century professional and amateur lutenists. For example, Lady Grace Mildmay, the Earl of Westmorland's mother-in-law, recorded in her journal that every day during her husband's absences she 'spent some tyme in playing on my lute and setting songs of 5 partes thereunto...'.[140] Between 1600 and 1630 the emphasis shifted away from vocal intabulations and the more serious works (fantasias, pavans and galliards) of John Dowland, Daniel Bacheler and others, scored for seven-course lute in Renaissance tuning, to lighter dances (almains, voltes and corantos) associated with the court in general and the masque in particular, composed in the idiomatic style brisé and scored for nine- or ten-course lute in a variety of tunings. This change in taste is apparent in a number of Jacobean sources including the lute book of Henry's musician, John Sturt (Ibl Add. MS 38539), and Robert Dowland's Varietie of lute-lessons (1610). From the 1620s English lute music was dominated by French lutenists employed in and on the periphery of the court, the most important of whom was Jacques Gaultier, client of the Earl of Buckingham who later joined the royal household.[141]

In view of the limited survival of evidence it is difficult to assess the extent to which the innovations of Prince Henry's court spread to the metropolitan and provincial noble households of the earls listed in Appendix I. For example, Spring has attributed the demise of the golden age of English lute music in c. 1620 to a court-country

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139. I. Harwood, 'On the Publication of Adrian le Roy's Lute Instructions', LSJ, 18 (1976), 30-36, see esp. p. 36

140. Northampton Public Library, 'Meditations of Lady Grace Mildmay', p. 46

141. For Gaultier's career in England see Spring, 'The Lute in England and Scotland', I, 95-111. Gaultier enjoyed Buckingham's protection from his arrival in England in 1617 but he appears to have lost the duke's favour some time before the 1626-27 scandal involving the queen and a daughter of the Scottish peer, James Hay, Earl of Carlisle.

Plate 6. Lady Anne Clifford in 1605 from The Great Picture, attributed to Jan van Belcamp, 1646. Reproduced by kind permission of Abbot Hall Art Gallery, Kendal, Cumbria

split among the gentry and aristocracy.[142] The development of secular musical taste is more complex than Spring's thesis allows; however, the dissemination of the style brisé may have been confined to court circles, at least during the reign of Charles I. References to lutes and lute tuition can be found throughout the early Stuart period suggesting that at no point did the instrument lose favour in provincial noble households, but the paucity of musical sources associated with them makes it impossible to determine whether or not the repertory played by and for country patrons followed court fashion. For example, the close relationship between Henry's lutenist, Thomas Cutting, and the Cavendish family may account for the increase in the number of lutenists employed by William Baron Cavendish between 1611 and 1614, the year in which Cutting died. At one point Cavendish patronised at least six players including Cutting, Hewett, Molsoe, Pierce, Robert Dowland, and possibly Michael Cavendish, gentleman of the bedchamber to the prince and the family's Suffolk kinsman. Cavendish's lutenists are known to have played three-part consort music, popular at court and in private circles from the mid-Elizabethan period.[143] Their repertory may also have included dances in the new style brisé. Between May 1612 and January 1616 the family regularly patronised Robert Dowland whose 1610 publication was the first English print to include music in the lighter French style. Furthermore, the alteration of a lute in July 1614 suggests that at least one of Cavendish's instruments was equipped with extra courses.[144] It is also possible that Cutting introduced his Derbyshire

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142. Spring, 'The Lute in England and Scotland', I, 62

143. In June 1613 Cavendish purchased 'three bookes for three lutes', the price of which suggests a printed rather than a manuscript collection (Hardwick MS 29 p. 321). The only surviving example of three-part printed music is Giovanni Pacoloni's Longe elegantissima excellentissimi musici (Louvain, 1564, 1587 and 1591) (cf. A. Rooley and J. Tyler, 'The Lute Consort', LSJ, 14 (1972), 13-24, see esp. pp. 15-16).

144. Hardwick MS 29 p. 373. This entry contrasts with one dating from ten years earlier to 'a midling lute of 14 strings', a traditional seven-course Renaissance lute (Hardwick MS 10B). It should be noted however that household accounts rarely contain information about the specification of instruments. The catalogue of Lady Bridgewater's books refers to three collections of French songs and a 'french musick booke', but it is impossible to verify if the latter included

patron to the Italianate practices of Henry's musical establishment. Given the range and number of plucked instruments owned by Cavendish and the availability of amateur singers within his household, the nobleman's family and servants were equipped to perform mixed consorts after the Italian fashion.

Historians have commented on the many similarities between the cultural interests of the prince and the Earl of Salisbury, partly borne of the latter's determination to shape Henry's taste and to ingratiate himself with the future monarch.[145] The prince shared Salisbury's love of music, but their patronage of foreign vocal and instrumental genres appears to have developed along different paths.[146]

The musical taste of Salisbury's son-in-law, Henry Lord Clifford, also bears many similarities to that of the prince. Clifford was not a key figure in Henry's circle of cosmopolitan friends and advisers, though his continental education, financed by Salisbury, was intended

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contemporary lute music in the style brisé (Ellesmere MS EL 6495 dated April 1632). Viscount Lisle may have been a patron of the genre. He was godfather of Robert Dowland, dedicatee of the lutenist's A Musicall Banquet (1610), and an enthusiast of French music possibly as a result of his embassy to Paris in 1594. Lisle acquired several music prints from the Parisian bookseller, Iéon Cavellat, and his own collection of poems included one song written 'To a french tune/Ou estes vous allez mes belles amourettes' (Ibl Add. MS 58435; see Croft , The Poems of Robert Sidney , 52, 248). Interestingly, John Dowland's 'Syr Robert Sidney his Galliard', published in A Musicall Banquet, was derived from Lassus's French chanson, 'Suzanne un jour' (Poulton, John Dowland, 150-51). The 1646 triptych portrait commissioned by the Countess of Pembroke and Montgomery pictures Lady Anne Clifford in 1605 with a twelve-course lute. However, Belcamp's representation of her musical skill is anachronistic: the double-headed lute was not introduced into England until after Gaultier's arrival in 1617 (See plate 6).

145. P. Croft, 'Robert Cecil and the early Jacobean court', The Mental World of the Jacobean Court, ed. L.L. Peck, 134-47, see esp. p. 141

146. Two of Henry's musicians (Vallentyne Sawyer and Matthew Johnson) temporarily joined the household of the 2nd Earl of Salisbury following the prince's death. However, in view of the paucity of evidence it is not possible to establish if the repertoire of William Cecil's musical establishment was influenced by their appointments.

to equip him for service to the prince.[147] At de Pluvinel's Parisian academy where he studied on the lute, Clifford would have encountered first-hand the latest experiments in the style brisé, and on his return to Yorkshire in 1611 he maintained a French lutenist.[148] Unlike his brother-in-law, Viscount Cranborne, Clifford did not cross the Alps but he was among the first English patrons to acquire a theorbo. The instrument was developed in Italy towards the end of the sixteenth century, imported into England shortly after James's accession, and used by Henry's musicians to accompany Italian vocal music.[149]

## 2. The dissemination of court music

Seventeenth-century music historians would agree with Smuts's view that following the accession of the Stuart monarchy cultural innovation was generally centred on Whitehall and its surroundings.[150] Several factors contributed to this development, not least of which was the change in the structure of the English court in 1603 from a single household under the virgin Elizabeth to five separate households catering for the needs of the monarch, his consort Anne of Denmark, and the royal children, Henry, Charles and Elizabeth. The number of musicians employed by the crown increased during the early seventeenth century. In addition to the Chapel Royal and the King's Musick, the queen and the prince of Wales each maintained their own musical band at Denmark House and St James's Palace respectively, the membership of which only partially overlapped with the main royal household.

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147. Clifford was chosen personally by Henry as one of the twenty-five youths of noble birth who were made knights of the Bath during his installation as prince of Wales (P. Croft, 'The Parliamentary Installation of Henry, Prince of Wales', Historical Research, 65 (1992), 177-93, see esp. p. 190).

148. See Chapter 3, p. 55

149. The Cliffords owned a theorbo by April 1611 (Bolton MSS book 94 f. 146). R. Spencer, 'Chitarrone, Theorbo and Archlute', EM, 4 (1976), 407-23, see esp. pp. 411-13). Clifford himself may have played on the theorbo for in April 1617 a 'long instrument...of my Lo' Cliffordes' was sent by sea from London to Hull (Bolton MSS book 97 f. 156).

150. Smuts, Court Culture, 54

The solo lyra style

Ashbee has concluded that the satellite courts were the 'true milieu for musical innovation' during the early seventeenth century, particularly in the field of instrumental music.[151] As discussed above, Prince Henry's establishment was an important centre for the assimilation of foreign musical trends. Anne of Denmark and her circle were actively involved in the development of the solo lyra style.[152] Viol playing from tablature grew rapidly in popularity during the period 1600-1620. A handful of composers employed in and on the periphery of the court experimented with the idiom as a solo medium. Tobias Hume, a soldier by profession and champion of the 'leero fashion', enjoyed the queen's patronage. In June 1607 he received a gift of £5 in return for dedicating to her Captain Humes Poeticall Musicke, his second publication in tablature.[153] Anne possessed at least one lyra viol, a purpose-built instrument designed to facilitate the performance of chordal playing, and in November 1608 she paid for 'twoe bookes in folio ruled for the Lira and the Violl'.[154]

The speed with which the solo lyra style was taken up by noblemen

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151. Ashbee, RECM, IV, xi. In his study of court culture Smuts denigrates royal musical patronage prior to the Civil War, contrasting its insularity with the cosmopolitan developments of its European rivals. Furthermore, he expresses a particularly biased view of the importance of Henrietta Maria's musical establishment (Court Culture, 124-25).

152. Ashbee, RECM, IV, 197-200. Anne shared her brother Christian IV's enthusiasm for music, and prior to her marriage to James VI of Scotland in 1589 she had been a pupil of Thomas Robinson (see the dedicatory epistle of Robinson's The schoole of musicke, 1603). Anne's circle of lyra-viol patrons formed a close-knit group. They were related to members of or served in the queen's household, and with the exception of the Earl of Salisbury, they were united through friendship with the late Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex (L. Barroll, 'The court of the first Stuart queen', The Mental World of the Jacobean Court, ed. L.L. Peck, 191-208, see esp. pp. 200-04).

153. The British Library copy of this work (pressmark K.2.g.11) appears to have been the one presented to Anne herself as the flyleaf verso contains the following note, 'I doe in all humylitie beseech your Ma:tie that you woulde be pleased to heare this Musicke by mee; having excellent Instruments to performe itt.' The collection contains pieces dedicated to several courtiers and noblewomen, including members of Anne's circle.

154. Ashbee, RECM, IV, 197-200

close to the queen makes it difficult to determine if Anne was the driving force behind this development or if royal and aristocratic patronage were mutually influential. For instance, the earliest printed collection of pieces in tablature for one to three viols -- Hume's The First Part of Ayres (1605) -- was dedicated to the 3rd Earl of Pembroke who was actively involved in Anne's court.[155]

Anne maintained an amicable relationship with Salisbury, a major figure in the early history of the lyra style.[156] The earl's band of musicians included Joseph Sherley and John Coprario, one of the 'First Authors of Inventing and Setting Lessons this way upon the Viol'.[157]

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155. Barroll, 'The court of the first Stuart queen', 207. Pembroke and his brother, Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery, were distant cousins of the queen's companion, Lucy Harington, Countess of Bedford, and nephews of her lord chamberlain, Viscount Lisle whose sister-in-law had married Essex as her second husband. Montgomery's wife, Susan de Vere (Salisbury's niece) also served in the queen's drawing chamber. 'The Earle of Pembrookes Galliard' appears in both the 1605 and 1607 prints. Poeticall Musicke also contains a piece dedicated to Pembroke's brother, Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery who later succeeded to the earldom of Pembroke ('The earle of Montgomeries delight'). In his humble petition addressed To the Right Honourable the Lords and others Assembled in the High Court of Parliament (14 July 1642), Hume refers to Philip as 'the good Lord of Pembrooke...[who] help[s] me sometimes with a meales meat, but not always...' and '[who] know[s] that I am an old experienced souldier...'. It is not known if Montgomery was interested in the lyra viol. According to Aubrey, Ferrabosco II (see below) received a pension and lodgings from him, but he is described as 'lord Philip['s] lutenist' (Britton, The Natural History of Wiltshire, 88). William Baron Cavendish purchased a copy of Hume's First Part of Ayres in June 1605 (Hardwick MS 10B). Cavendish's steward referred to it as 'a songe book called Mr Humes humors' (the collection's alternative title), which suggests that the print was acquired under the misapprehension that it contained vocal music. In fact the songs represent less than 5% of the volume.

156. E.N. Lindquist, 'The last Years of the First Earl of Salisbury 1610-1612', Albion, 18/1 (Spring 1986), 23-41, see esp. p. 36; Croft, 'Robert Cecil and the early Jacobean court', 142; Ashbee, REOM, IV, 197

157. John Playford, Musicks Recreation on the Viol Lyra Way (2nd ed., 1669); Richard Charteris, John Coprario; a thematic index of his music (New York, 1977), 90-92. For Sherley see Chapter 2, p. 36. Twenty airs in tablature by Sherley survive in a handful of contemporary sources (see Dodd, Thematic Index of Music for Viols, 'Joseph Sherlie 1-2'). Simon Ives's apprenticeship under Cecil coincided with the early development of the lyra style. He later composed a number of pieces for one, two and three lyra viols, including works dedicated to people associated with or related to Salisbury; see for example, 'Sir Will.

Moreover, he purchased a lyra viol around the same time as the queen.[158] Of the patrons examined, only one other can be identified as owning such an instrument, Salisbury's kinsman and political ally the 4th Earl of Cumberland. In July 1614 the Yorkshire peer acquired a lyra viol from Coprario at a cost of £7 which he had transported to Londesborough for the use of his household musicians.[159]

Anne's musical circle included Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton, master of her game and a member of the queen's council, and Roger Manners, 5th Earl of Rutland.[160] Both peers had been educated in the Cecil household under the direction of Lord Burghley, master of the court of wards, and during the first decade of James's reign were on close terms with Salisbury.[161] Southampton's connection with the development of the solo lyra style is particularly important in that he was the dedicatee of Ferrabosco's Lessons for 1, 2 and 3 Viols (1609), the first print devoted entirely to the genre. Almost nothing is known about Southampton's musical patronage, but the manner in which Ferrabosco phrased his dedication -- 'I made these compositions solely for your lordship and doe here professe it'-- implies that the earl shared Anne's enthusiasm for the lyra style. Rutland was actively involved in the cultural patronage of the Jacobean court. Two of his servants joined Prince Henry's retinue, his tutor Robert Dallington and the architect Inigo Jones.[162] Rutland's musician Andrew Markes may be identified with the composer of six airs in tablature which survive in Cambridge University Library MS Dd.5.20,

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Owens choyce' and 'Countess of Exeters almaine' (Dodd, Thematic Index, Ives-14 and 9). The latter piece could refer to any one of three countesses: Frances, dau. of the 4th Baron Chandos of Sudeley; Elizabeth, dau. of Sir William Drury of Hawsted, Suffolk; or Elizabeth, dau. of the Earl of Bridgewater (see Appendix II).

158. Salisbury MSS bills 14

159. Bolton MSS book 95 f. 242v

160. Southampton and Rutland had been imprisoned for supporting Essex during the 1601 rebellion. Rutland was married to Lisle's niece and Essex's stepdaughter, Elizabeth Sidney.

161. In August 1608, for example, Southampton was approached by Salisbury with a view to hiring George Mason (see Chapter 2, p. 30).

162. Holtgen, 'Sir Robert Dallington, 157-59; Wilks, 'The Court Culture of Prince Henry and his Circle', 23 and 26

an early seventeenth-century collection of works by court-based exponents of the lyra style, including Coprario, Sherley, Ferrabosco II, Daniel Farrant and Robert Johnson.[163]

Consort music for viols and violins

The most significant innovation associated with Charles's household following his creation as prince of Wales in 1616 was the introduction of the violin into contrapuntal music in combination with viols and organ. Since its establishment in 1540 the royal violin band had performed primarily dance music. The earliest surviving reference to the violin in an aristocratic or gentry household dates from the mid-1560s. Sir Henry Sidney's account for the year February 1564/5-February 1565/6 includes expenditure of £80 6s 7d for the 'charge of vyolens' and 'redemyng the apprentyshode [sic] of two boyes for the violens'.[164] Gradually, a select number of Elizabethan gentlemen and noblemen acquired chests of violins;[165] however, it would be wrong to assume, as R.B.'s advice implies, that noble households in general maintained a resident violin band.[166] Of the patrons examined only the Earl of Dorset is known to have patronised two or more violinists

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163. The manuscript is part of the Cambridge mixed consort set owned by Matthew Holmes, singing man at Westminster Abbey, 1597-1621 (I. Harwood, 'Origins of the Cambridge Lute Manuscripts', LSJ, 5 (1963), 32-43, see esp. p. 39). The section devoted to the lyra viol was copied at a later date and in a different hand from the rest of the set. Frank Traficante refers to the composer of these airs as 'And. Marke' and 'S? Mark' ('Music for Lyra Viol: Manuscript Sources', Chelys, 8 (1978-79), 4-22, see esp. p. 12). Two galliards, a pavan and a toy (ff. 35-36v) are attributed in the source to An/And: Marks/Markes (using the secretary hand 'es' abbreviation); while a 'currant' and a toy are attributed to S/S[eigneu]r: Markes (ff. 24, 35).

164. KAO U1475/A5/4 [f. 4] The band accompanied Sidney to Ireland in January 1566 where he had been appointed as lord deputy (KAO U1475/A5/6 [f. 2v]; DNB, XVIII, 212). It is possible that Sidney's younger son, Robert, employed violinists during the late Elizabethan period; on 25 March 1592 he paid 20s to 'Joseph [Lupo] the quenes mussission' for 'presentinge of boukes' (KAO U1475/A38/1).

165. For example, Sir Henry Sidney's brother-in-law, Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester, John Lord Lumley and Sir Thomas Kytson.

166. Ibl Add. MS 29262 f. 14v

including Horatio Lupo who subsequently joined the royal household.[167] Before the Civil War the violin was played almost exclusively by professional musicians, during which period very few noble households had sufficient numbers to perform five-part violin consorts, the mainstay of the instrument's repertoire. The majority of patrons hired itinerant or nominally retained fiddlers to provide music during mealtimes or to accompany dancing. For example, during the 1619 visit to Londesborough of the 2nd Earl and Countess of Salisbury the Malton musicians played on four violins in the great chamber.[168] They probably played dances scored for one treble, two tenors and bass, though five-part dance music such as Antony Holborne's Pavans, Galliards and Almains... (1599), which required three tenors, was the norm in Elizabethan and early Stuart England.

In about 1622 Prince Charles established a string band ('Coprario's music') to perform contrapuntal works scored for one or two violins, viols and organ, the members of which included Thomas Lupo, John Woodington and Adam Vallet (violins), Ferrabosco II and Coprario (viols), and Orlando Gibbons (organ).[169] The prince may also have participated in the group; according to Playford, Charles 'could play his part exactly well on the Bass-Viol, especially of those incomparable Fancies of Mr Coperario to the Organ'.[170] Several works were composed for Charles's household, including Coprario's fantasy suites for one and two violins, bass viol and organ; Gibbons's Fantazies of Three Parts (n.d.) and the fantasias for the 'great

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167. KAO U269/A1/1; see Table 3.6. The copy of Dowland's Lachrimae (1604), scored for viols or violins, which appears in Sir William Cavendish's June 1605 account must have been purchased for the resident viol consort (Hardwick MS 10B). The family did not acquire a violin until November 1616 (Hardwick MS 29 p. 508).

168. Bolton MSS book 98 f. 137. See also Bolton MSS book 142 f. 8, book 95 f. 116v, book 161, book 179. Fiddlers were also hired by Sir William Cavendish (Hardwick MSS 10A, 23, and 29 p. 739), Christian Countess of Devonshire (Hardwick MS 30A), the Earl of Dorset (U269/A1/1), the 2nd Earl of Salisbury ( Salisbury MSS box I/5), and the 5th Earl of Bath (KAO U269/A525/5).

169. P. Holman, Four and twenty fiddlers: the violin at the English court, 1540-1690 (Oxford, forthcoming). I am grateful to Peter Holman for allowing me to read his typescript.

170. John Playford, A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Music (1683)

dooble basse'; and Koninclycke Fantasien (Amsterdam, 1648), a group of pieces by Lupo, Coprario and Gibbons originally intended for performance at the abandoned marriage festivities of Charles and the Spanish Infanta.[171]

The fantasia scored for violins and viols was one of the least widely disseminated musical innovations of the early Stuart court. Indeed there is little evidence to suggest that this development spread to private households much before the Civil War. An interesting case in point is that of the composer John Hingeston who wrote over sixty fantasy suites for strings.[172] Hingeston's employment in the northern household of the earls of Cumberland (1621-1645) did not isolate him from the court. Through Clifford patronage he had studied with Orlando Gibbons exactly during the period when 'Coprario's music' was experimenting with the genre.[173] After his return to Yorkshire in 1624-25 Hingeston regularly visited London in the company of his patron and was therefore in a position to absorb the latest trends in court

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171. R. Rasch, XX Koninclycke Fantasien (facs. ed., Peer, 1987), 5-11. Coprario's fantasy suites and Gibbons's fantasias for the great double bass are preserved in GB-Och MSS 732-35 and Ibl RM 24.k.3, the covers of which bear the royal arms. The 'great dooble basse' seems to have enjoyed only limited appeal among the late Jacobean and Caroline nobility and gentry. Gibbons's employment by Sir Christopher Hatton II may account for the later reference to a 'great basse' in a composition by Baron Hatton's servant George Jeffreys (Gibbons, The First Set of Madrigals and Mottets, 1612; P. Holman, 'George Jeffries and the "great dooble base"', Chelys, 5 (1973-74), 79-80). An inventory of 'items left by my Lord Cork' dating from after 1643 includes '1 black box with a great violl in it' (Bolton MSS G12). It is not known if this instrument was originally owned by Cork's father-in-law Henry Lord Clifford whose family patronised Gibbons during the early 1620s (see below). Only Coprario's fantasy suites are specifically scored for violin, but a number of scholars believe that the compositions by Gibbons and Lupo were also intended for the violin rather than the treble viol (see, for example, T. Dart, 'The Printed Fantasias of Orlando Gibbons', M&L, 37 (1956), 342-49, see esp. pp. 348-49; Holman, Four and twenty fiddlers).

172. See Dodd, Thematic index, Hingeston 1-8. The majority of Hingeston's fantasy suites survive in post-Restoration sources (Ob Mus. Sch. MSS D205-11 and Ob Mus. Sch. MS E382).

173. See Chapter 2, pp. 34-35. Coprario also enjoyed Clifford patronage during the 1610s. On his return from Italy in January 1616/7 he received £11 from the 4th Earl of Cumberland (Bolton MSS book 97 f. 36).

music.[174] Furthermore, the Cliffords owned at least one treble violin, and between 1625 and 1641 they employed a resident violinist named William Hudson.[175] Several of Hingeston's compositions date from the Caroline period, but the fantasy suites for one and two violins, bass viol and organ belong stylistically to the mid-seventeenth century, the time at which he was employed as master of music to Oliver Cromwell.[176] It is possible that Cumberland's musicians played the works of court-based composers such as Gibbons and Coprario, and that Hingeston's reluctance to experiment with the genre before 1645 reflects his own taste rather than that of his patron.

Viol consort music

The fantasy suite per se probably enjoyed wide appeal in Caroline provincial society though, with the exception of Hingeston, several of whose works for viols including the five- and six-part fantasy/almande pairs were written before 1645, none of the resident household musicians cited in Appendix III composed in this genre.[177] However, judging from the number of viol chests listed in Appendix VII, dances and fantasias scored for two to six viols with organ formed part of the repertoire of professional and amateur musicians resident in noble households throughout the early Stuart period. For example, in December 1607 Nicholas Lanier purchased on Salisbury's behalf 'three great violl bookes with gilt covers'.[178] Sir William Cavendish acquired several manuscripts around this time including '2 bookes for the vyall [pricked

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174. See, for example, the London accounts for November 1630-July 1631; November 1634-April 1635; and November 1641-January 1642 (Bolton MSS books 161, 173 and 91)

175. Bolton MSS book 94 f. 184; Appendix III. Violin strings were purchased during the 1630s but none of the surviving evidence suggests that the family owned a set of tenor and bass violins (Bolton MSS book 169).

176. Hulse, 'John Hingeston', 28-29. The Oxford Music School source of Hingeston's four-part fantasia-almande suites contains the description 'for violes or violins...with organ'. It is not possible to date precisely the composition of this collection.

177. Hawkins, A General History...of Music, II, 577

178. Salisbury MSS bills 14/1. The earl employed at least five viol players: Nicholas Lanier, John Coprario, Henry Oxford, and the apprentices George Mason and Christian Crusse.

by] Mr [Peter] Edneis man' and a copy of Lachrimae (1604), Dowland's printed collection of consort music.[179]

Much of the viol consort repertoire was written for amateurs though few compositions can be identified directly with the patrons listed in Appendix I. Coprario's experiments in the new fantasia style coincide with the period of his employment at Salisbury House, though it is impossible to ascribe individual works to Cecil patronage. Likewise the seven five-part fantasias by William Symmes may date from the years during which he served the Earl of Dorset.[180] In the 1667 edition of A Compendium of Practical Music, dedicated to his former patron the Duke of Newcastle, Christopher Simpson referred to '...some things which I formerly composed for your Grace's recreation.'[181] The treble opening of one of his three-part pavans inscribed 'at Welbeck' survives in Francis Withey's manuscript collection.[182] In view of the latter's meticulous approach to recording information regarding the music which he copied, it would appear that at least one of Simpson's three-part ayres was composed while residing at Newcastle's Nottinghamshire property some time before 2 August 1644, the date on which Welbeck fell to Parliamentary forces.[183]

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179. Hardwick MS 10B

180. See Dodd, Thematic Index, ''Simmes 1-2'. Two In nomines in five and six parts attributed to one Gill survive in Oxford sources. Dodd has identified the composer as George Gill, the instrument maker; however, it seems more likely that they were composed by Dorset's servant, Arthur Gill, or by Robert Gill who was apprenticed to the London musician, Henry Walker (Dodd, ibid.; Holman, 'An Addicion of Wyer Stringes').

181. P.J. Lord (ed.), Christopher Simpson: A Compendium of Practical Music in five parts (Oxford, 1970), xli

182. Ob Mus. Sch. MSS C59-60 p. 59

183. R. Thompson, '"Francis Withie of Oxon" and his commonplace book, Christ Church, Oxford MS 337', Chelys, 20 (1991), 3-27, see esp. p. 6; Trease, Portrait of a Cavalier, 143. Margaret Urquhart has dated some of the three-part ayres to the years 1642-1645 ('Was Christopher Simpson a Jesuit?'). The relationship between Simpson and Newcastle dates back to at least the early years of the Civil War when the composer served as quartermaster in a troop of horse led by the earl's twelve-year-old son, Henry Cavendish (M. Urquhart, 'Sir Robert Bolles Bt. of Scampton', Chelys, 16 (1987), 16-29, see esp. p. 16).

Private entertainments

The cultural relationship between court and country is particularly apparent in the entertainments devised for provincial and metropolitan aristocratic households during the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods. Noblemen residing in the shires took an active interest in the devices produced by their contemporaries. The social and political significance attaching to these devices contributed to the immediate circulation of the text both in printed and manuscript form.[184] Newsletter writers and others reported the successes and failures of the entertainments staged by the monarch and his courtiers.

Several letters in the Talbot correspondence refer to court masques in which relatives of the 7th Earl of Shrewsbury participated. Ben Jonson's The Masque of Beauty (10 January 1607/8) and Lord Haddingtons Masque (Shrove Tuesday 1607/8) were of particular interest to the earl. His daughter, Alethea, Countess of Arundel, and his niece, Lady Arbella Stuart, took part in the queen's twelfth night masque, while his sons-in-law, the earls of Pembroke and Arundel, danced in Lord Haddington's wedding masque.[185] Despite a severe attack of gout during the winter of 1607-08, the 4th Earl of Worcester dragged himself to both performances in order to send Shrewsbury a first-hand account:[186]

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184. See, for example, Henry Lawes's dedication of Comus to John Viscount Brackley: 'Although not openly acknowledged by the author, yet it is a legitimate offspring so much desired, that the often copying of it hath tired my pen to give my several friends satisfaction, and brought me to a necessity of producing it to the public view ' (D. Bush (ed.), Milton: Poetical Works (1973), 113). Jonson's masque The Gypsies Metamorphosed survives in a number of manuscript copies including the Newcastle manuscript (Lbl Harl. MS 4955) and a miscellany compiled by Lord Clifford's son-in-law, Richard Dungarvan (Folger Library MS V.a.125).

185. Lambeth PL MS 3202 f. 131v, Rowland Whyte to Shrewsbury 26 January 1607/8

186. Lambeth PL MS 3203 f. 38. Worcester had earlier purchased a copy of Daniel's The vision of the twelve goddesses (1604) which he wrote 'wyll enform youe better then I can having coted the names of the Ladyes applyed to eche goddes' (Lambeth PL MS 3201 f. 182v). Worcester had also attempted to obtain a copy of a ballet, but informed Shrewsbury that 'theis bookes as I heare ar all cawled in, and in truthe I wyll not take uppon mee to set that down which wyser then myself doe not understand.' The British Library copy of Daniel's masque (pressmark 161.a.41) contains manuscript annotations of the names of the twelve masquers which Fogle suggests were made by Worcester, but

> The very same night that the queens maske was performed I was scantly able to goe but yet held out untyll all was performed since which tyme untyll this great wedding I went not upp the steyrs but that nyght I forced my leges to carry mee to see that maske [T]o geve youe accownt of both was my determination but my indisposition for the first was sutch that tyme passing would now make that stale for I assure myselfe youe have receyved yt already, for the secondd I knowe your 2 sones being bothe actors wyll not omitt the relatione...

Alethea promised to write to her father as soon as she had procured a copy of The Masque of Beauty, but Shrewsbury was anxious to acquire the text and wrote directly to the queen's lord chamberlain, Robert Viscount Lisle for a copy. Lisle replied on 29 January 1607/8:[187]

> ...for the devise of it with all the speeches and verses I had sent it to your Lo. ere this if I could have gotten it of Ben Johnson but no sooner had hee made an end of this, but that hee undertooke a new charge for the maske that is to bee at the Vicount Hadingtons mariage...so as till that bee past I cannot have the first but then for the interest and princpal debt I will send your L. both.

Many of the entertainments listed in Appendix VIII were public expressions of the nobleman's personal taste and knowledge of recent cultural trends. They not only enhanced his reputation as a patron of the arts, thus meeting with the courtly ideal of the complete gentleman, but the potential sophistication of these devices could also express the nobleman's affinity with the crown and thereby reinforce his hegemony within the local community. Consequently, it was prudent to employ the best artistic means available in order to achieve the desired effect. Following their early court successes Ben Jonson and

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the hand does not match the correspondence in the Talbot collection (F.R. Fogle, '"Such a Rural Queen": The Countess Dowager Derby as Patron', Patronage in late Renaissance England (Los Angeles, 1983), 28 note 31).

187. Lambeth PL MS 3202 ff. 173 and 134-134v; M.V. Hay, The Life of Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester (1563-1626) (1984), 210, 186 and 207. Lisle was Pembroke's uncle. None of the Jacobean masque texts mentioned in the Talbot correspondence survives among the family papers. However, there are two brief extracts from late Elizabethan shows, both of which were written for the entertainment of the queen (Lambeth PL MS 3201 ff. 27-28v and 43). In the first, dated 17 November 1600 and annotated in Shrewsbury's hand, 'My Lo. Compton', a distressed knight 'worne with discontentment' is advised by the oracle to 'seeke thee to a forraine holy lande/ And where there first appeares unto thy sight/ A royall scepter in a virgin hand/ there worship...'. The second comprises the farewell speech from Lord Keeper Egerton's entertainment at Harefield in 1602.

Inigo Jones were hired to produce Salisbury's entertainments.[188] Jones was given free rein to use the latest dramatic effects such as flying devices, cloud machines, diaphanous glasses and the new landscape scenery.[189] However, relatively little is known about the composers who collaborated in these devices. The low percentage of individuals identified in Appendix VIII cannot be attributed entirely to the limited survival of music or to a lack of archival evidence regarding the production. For instance, as well as the references to Jonson and Jones, Salisbury's household accounts document either by name or by patron the actors and additional musicians employed, but there is no mention of the composer.[190] This curious omission also obtains in the drammi per musica staged in Italian noble households during the first

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188. It was common for noblemen to employ court-based poets to devise their entertainments (see Appendix VIII). For example, following the Brougham Castle show in August 1617, the 4th Earl of Cumberland paid £66 13s 4d to 'Doctor [Thomas] Campion whoe Composed the whole matter, Songs etc. for his paines therein, Coming downe to prepare, order it, and see all Acted, & for his Charges to and fro' (Spence, 'A Royal Progress in the North', 59). It is not surprising that he should have chosen Campion. The poet had enjoyed Clifford patronage from at least 1613 (see Two Bookes of Ayres (c. 1613), dedicated to the earl and his son). Moreover, he had already devised a royal entertainment and three court masques, including The Lords Masque (1613), written for the marriage festivities of Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine, in which Lord Clifford danced as one of the four barons (Bolton MSS book 94 unfoliated leaves after f. 32v; Cooper, 'Wentworth Papers', 53 - Cumberland to Sir William Wentworth 13 January 1612/3). See also D. Lindley, Thomas Campion (Leiden, 1986), 65-66

189. A relatively high percentage of private entertainments require mechanical devices and moving or changing scenery, for example, Marston's The Lorde and Ladye Huntingdons Entertainment (1607), Jonson's The Genius (1607), Milton's Comus (1634), the masque of Comus designed by Hendrik de Keyser (1637) and Westmorland's Raguaillo d'Oceano (?1640) (see Appendix VIII; Butler, 'The Provincial Masque of Comus, 1636', 162-69).

190. S. McMillin, 'Jonson's Early Entertainments: New Information from Hatfield House', Renaissance Drama, new series 1 (1968), 153-66; Salisbury MSS accounts 160/1 f. 51, bills 22, 33, 35/1,1a, 6 to 8; vol. 119/162. The actors involved in the 1607-1609 entertainments were drawn from professional companies including the Children of the Queen's Revels. Edward Alleyn, one of the leading actors of the Elizabethan stage, was brought out of retirement to perform in the lord treasurer's show (J.P. Collier, The Memoirs of Edward Alleyn, Founder of Dulwich College (1841)).

half of the seventeenth century.[191] The absence of information suggests that the composer was a household servant and was therefore not entitled to additional remuneration in recognition of his contribution. In view of the fact that Coprario and Lanier wrote songs and dances for the court masque from 1613 it seems reasonable to presume that they experimented with the genre under Cecil's patronage.[192]

The musical settings of two of the entertainments listed in Appendix VIII can be identified as the work of a household musician or regular part-time retainer.[193] The Ayres that were sung and played at Brougham Castle in August 1617 were composed by George Mason, a former employee of the Clifford family, and the earl's gentleman servant, John Earsden. The printed edition does not ascribe individual songs to each composer, though Mason was probably the senior partner in the production. Lord Clifford was instructed to notify him with his 'directions touching the musick', and on at least two other occasions Mason was commissioned to set songs and other works for the earl.[194] In addition, his name receives prominence on the title-page. Earsden may have been responsible only for the tenth song, 'The Lords welcome' which was sung during the first evening's entertainment before 'The Kings Good-night' (no. 3). The former is printed out of sequence and is inferior in quality to the other songs in the collection.[195]

Following his appointment to the royal household in 1626 Henry Lawes maintained his close relationship with the Egertons whom he continued to serve as tutor, composer and musical adviser. His

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191. L. Bianconi and T. Walker, 'Production, Consumption and Political Function of Seventeenth Century Italian Opera', Early Music History, 4 (1984), 209-96, see esp. p. 236

192. The bills for the 1608 entertainment would seem to reinforce this view. Coprario was responsible for paying two musicians and a singing boy who supplemented the earl's band. It is likely therefore that he was involved in more than an administrative capacity (Salisbury MSS bills 22).

193. John Dowland may have composed songs for a wedding entertainment involving his patron Theophilus Lord Howard de Walden (A Pilgrimes Solace (1612), nos xix-xxi; see I. Spink, English Song: Dowland to Purcell (rev. ed., 1986), 22; Poulton, John Dowland, 314).

194. Whitaker, The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven, 369; Bolton MSS book 94 f. 183 and book 98 f. 134v

195. Spink, 'Campion's Entertainment', 60

knowledge of and experience in court masques during the early 1630s were indispensable to the production of Comus, staged on 29 September 1634 to celebrate the Earl of Bridgewater's first official visit to Ludlow as lord president of the Council in the Marches.[196] Only five of the songs from Milton's entertainment survive in Lawes's autograph score, Lbl Add. MS 53723 (ff. 37-39), which may imply that the instrumental music from Comus was the work of another musician, possibly William Lawes.[197]

At present it is impossible to verify if the composers identified with the entertainments at Elvetham, 1591 (John Baldwin and Edward Johnson), Burley-on-the-hill, 1621 (Nicholas Lanier and Robert Johnson), and Welbeck, 1633 (William Lawes) participated in the original production of the shows with which their vocal settings are connected.[198] The Marquess of Buckingham's intimate relationship with James I may explain why composers from the royal household were involved in the masque which he presented in the king's honour at

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196. Lawes appeared in at least six court masques prior to the staging of Comus: Jonson's Love's Triumph through Callipolis (1631) and Chloridia (1631),; Townshend's Albion's Triumph (1632) and Tempe Restored (1632); Shirley's The Triumph of Peace (1634); and Carew's Coelum Britannicum (1634) (J.G. Demaray, 'Milton's Comus: The Sequel to a Masque of Circe', Huntington Lib. Q., 29 (1965-66), 245-54, see esp. p. 246). It is questionable whether Lawes also collaborated in Milton's pastoral Arcades staged at Harefield in honour of Alice Lady Derby some time between 1631 and 1634, though both he and his brother William are known to have been employed by the Dowager Countess in December 1634 (C.C. Brown, John Milton's Aristocratic Entertainments (Cambridge, 1985), 45; Hastings MSS misc. box 1 Countess of Derby's expenses weeks ending 11 and 25 December 1634). For an alternative view see McClung Evans, Henry Lawes, 66-69.

197. Brown, John Milton's Aristocratic Entertainments, 35

198. The composers listed in connection with the 1591 show presented by the Earl of Hertford have been identified by Ernest Brennecke in 'The Entertainment at Elvetham, 1591', 32-56. Corroborative evidence does not survive among the Seymour papers. Hertford may have staged an entertainment for James I during his visit to Tottenham Park in September 1603. According to the earl's household accounts, the poet Samuel Daniel and his brother, the lutenist and composer John Daniel, were fetched twice from London 'againste the Kinges cumminge' (Seymour papers, vol. xi ff. 233-34). Samuel Daniel's first court masque The vision of the twelve goddesses was performed four months later by Queen Anne and her ladies. Daniel's brother is not known as a composer of masque music, though the expressive range of his lute songs is extensive (Spink, English Song, 33-35).

Burley-on-the-hill, Rutland on 3 August 1621.[199] Buckingham was well known to court musicians and poets; he had danced in several royal entertainments prior to The Gypsies Metamorphosed and was the dedicatee of John Adson's instrumental collection, Courtly masquing ayres (1621).[200] Jonson's masque may have been a court collaboration, but the evidence is not conclusive. Two settings from The Gypsies Metamorphosed -- the duet 'Why this is sport' and the ballad 'From the famous peaks of Derby' -- have been attributed respectively to Nicholas Lanier and Robert Johnson, both of whom were present at Burley-on-the-hill during the king's visit; however, none of the extant musical sources is contemporaneous with the 1621 performance.[201]

A copy of the dialogue 'What softer sounds are these' sung at the banquet from The Kings Entertainment at Welbeck can be found in William Lawes's autograph manuscript, Ibl Add. MS 31432 (ff. 20v-21). Henry's younger brother composed music for the public theatre and frequented court circles prior to his royal appointment in April 1635, but it seems unlikely that he collaborated with Jonson in devising the 1633 show.[202] The post-1638 dating of William's score would not of itself

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199. Lockyer, Buckingham, 62-64

200. According to Chamberlain, Buckingham's participation in the Twelfth Night masque 1614/5 had been 'the gracing of young Villiers and [brought] him on the stage' (Lockyer, Buckingham, 18). The king's favourite had danced in The Vision of Delight (1617); Pleasure reconciled to virtue (1618); an unidentified masque (1619); and News from the new world (1620) before playing the part of the first gypsy in The Gypsies Metamorphosed. Buckingham was also dedicatee of F. de Lauze's dance manual Apologie de la danse et la Parfaicte Methode de l'enseigner tant aux cavaliers quaux Dames (1623).

201. Ibl Add. MS 29396 ff. 71v-72v; John Playford's Musical Companion (1673); Herford and Simpson, Ben Jonson, X, 612-13

202. Ashbee, RECM, III, 82. Lefkowitz, however, is convinced that Lawes was involved in the entertainment (William Lawes, 16, 196). As a gentleman of the Chapel Royal Henry Lawes accompanied Charles during the Scottish royal progress and may therefore have visited Welbeck, but there is no evidence to link the brothers with the Earl of Newcastle before the Civil War (PRO LC5/132 f. 358). Newcastle and his family are known to have patronised Henry during the Interregnum (Margaret Duchess of Newcastle, The Life of...William Cavendish, 169; K. Jones, A Glorious Fame The Life of Margaret Cavendish Duchess of Newcastle 1623-1673 (1988), 77) The duchess is reputed to have sung Henry Lawes's compositions in Antwerp during the mid-1650s (Jones, ibid., 111). Lawes may have been introduced to the Cavendishes in 1642 when Bridgewater's

preclude an earlier composition date;[203] however, there are a number of significant discrepancies between the literary sources and Lawes's setting which raise doubts about his involvement in the original performance.[204]

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son Viscount Brackley married Newcastle's daughter. He composed two anniversary songs in celebration of this union, the first shortly after the birth of their son and the second ('The Day's return'd') in July 1652, both of which were sung by Lawes and Lady Alice Egerton (Evans, Henry Lawes, 172, 191-92; Henry Lawes, Ayres and Dialogues, 1653). Newcastle himself is known to have collaborated with at least one court composer. During his enforced exile following the defeat of the royalist army at Marston Moor in 1644 the earl devised an entertainment for Charles II which he had set to music by Nicholas Lanier, a fellow resident in Antwerp (M.A.E. Green (ed.), CSPD 1657-8 (rep. 1965), 311). It is not known when the composer first enjoyed Newcastle's patronage, but Lanier was a client of the Duke of Buckingham, the earl's court patron during the 1620s. None of the songs composed for Newcastle's royal entertainments can be traced among Lanier's surviving works, though the composer did claim that several of his manuscripts were destroyed during the Civil War (I. Spink, 'Nicholas Lanier (ii), The New Grove, X, 454). Portland MS PwV24, a miscellaneous collection of Newcastle's works, contains the text of 'A Songe for Mr Lanier' (p. 74).

203. The manuscript which bears the arms of Charles I was probably compiled after Lawes's appointment to the King's Musick and has been dated c. 1638-45 (P. Beal, Index of Literary Manuscripts, vol. I 1450-1625 (1980), pt 2, 290).

204. The Kings Entertainment at Welbeck survives in two literary sources: Ben Jonson's 1640 Folio edition and the Newcastle manuscript (Ibl Harleian MS 4955), a contemporary source of works associated with the Cavendish family, which appears to pre-date the printed text (W.D. Briggs, 'Studies in Ben Jonson', Anglia, 37 (1913), 463-93, see esp. p.464; Beal, Index of English Literary Manuscripts, vol. I 1450-1625, pt 2, 235). Lawes's score contains only the 'first straine' of the dialogue. The distribution of the text in Harl. MS 4955 suggests a scoring of five voices -- two soloists representing the passions and a three-part chorus of affections (the wording of the second strain implies treble, tenor and bass voices) each of which has solo entries in lines 7-12 (<1> = Joy, <2> = Delight and <3> = Jollity). All three voices join together in lines 13-14. Lawes's setting is quite different: a) the dialogue between Doubt and Love is scored instead for the affections Joy and Delight, sung by two trebles; b) lines 7-12 are scored in alternating solo and duet passages sung by Joy and Delight; and c) lines 13-14 are scored for four-part chorus comprising two trebles, tenor and bass. In addition, there is a significant textual variant in line 12 between Lawes's manuscript and the literary sources. Margaret Crum has suggested that Lawes changed or asked the poet to change certain words in order to avoid over-clogging of consonants. ('Notes on the texts of William Lawes's Songs in B.M. MS Add. 31432', The Library, 5th series 9/2 (June 1954), 122-27, see esp. pp. 123-24).

In her study of early Tudor household revels Suzanne Westfall concluded that private entertainments were almost exclusively performed by resident minstrels and chapel singers because noble patrons 'were never foolish enough to depend upon external performers to execute the centre-piece entertainment at important secular festivals or religious feasts'.[205] By the late sixteenth century the majority of aristocratic households no longer possessed a sufficient body of musical servants to present a 'home-produced' show of any significance. Following the Reformation the number of resident musicians declined considerably. Protestant noblemen did not require a formal group of choristers and singing men to direct the daily rites of the household community. Furthermore, only a handful of peers retained heraldic musicians; those who continued to patronise trumpeters rarely employed more than one in regular service. Late Elizabethan and early Stuart dramatic entertainments also required a different range of vocal and instrumental resources from the devices staged over a century earlier. Most patrons were therefore obliged to supplement their household band with temporary musicians including waits, itinerants, and servants belonging to friends and relatives. The accounts for the king's entertainment at Brougham (1617) and the masque of 'Comus' (1637) reveal that the Cliffords avoided the hazard of employing itinerant musicians whose professional skill was potentially beyond their control by ensuring that they rehearsed for several days in advance of the performance.[206] Indeed, John Girdler, the most senior member of the six-man company of York waits, and his son Adam played a major role in the Skipton production of 'Comus'.[207]

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In fact, it is just as easy, if not easier, to sing the text in Harleian MS 4955 than the double 'welcome' of Lawes's setting.

205. Westfall, Patrons and Performance, 93

206. Bolton MSS book 96 f. 106v and book 97 f. 200v; book 175 ff. 181-83. Butler's dating of the masque is incorrect; the entertainment was staged in April 1637, not April 1636 ('A Provincial Masque of Comus, 1636', 150).

207. Bolton MSS book 175 ff. 181-83. This was not the first occasion on which Adam Girdler had been employed by Clifford. Several months earlier he was summoned from York to participate in an amateur performance of Beaumont's The Knight of the Burning Pestle (Bolton MSS book 174 f. 92v; Butler, 'A Provincial Masque of Comus, 1636', 159;

David Lindley among others has noted that private entertainments, in contrast to their royal counterparts, 'tend to be simpler in outline and place more emphasis on verbal animation than spectacle.'[208] Inevitably, this affected the extent and nature of the musical content. Yet despite the overall reduction in the number of songs and particularly dances which formed the pillars of the court masque, patrons continued to strive for the highest quality of performance in order to enhance their reputation. For example, one observer commented of the king's entertainment staged by the 7th Earl of Shrewsbury at Worksop in April 1603, 'there was most excellent soule ravishing musique wherwith his Highness was not a little delighted'.[209] In the printed edition of 'The Genius' staged at Theobalds in May 1607 Jonson recorded that the concluding song, 'O blessed change', was prefaced with 'rare and choise Musique' and that the song itself was 'deliver'd by an excellent voice'.

Patrons who employed court-based composers like Henry Lawes, Nicholas Lanier and Robert Johnson, experienced in dramatic composition, were assured a sophisticated production. Nevertheless, one should not underestimate the skill of provincial musicians. For example, George Mason successfully experimented with the declamatory style in the Brougham Castle song 'The shadowes dark'ning our intents'.[210] His knowledge of the latest trends in court music were due in part to his association with the Cecil household. Prior to his transfer to Yorkshire in 1608, Mason had performed in at least two entertainments staged by Salisbury, 'The Genius' and the lord treasurer's show. Once in Cumberland's employment Mason regularly visited London where he retained links with musicians working in and on

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Merryweather, York Music, 100). The Earl of Devonshire also hired a company from Chesterfield to play during a masque staged at Hardwick Hall on 27 February 1623 (Hardwick MS 29 p. 739).

208. Lindley, Thomas Campion, 211

209. J. Nichols, The Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities...of James I, 4 vols (1828), I, 86-87

210. Spink goes so far as to claim that Mason's style is more advanced in certain passages than that of the court composers Alfonso Ferrabosco II and Nicholas Lanier ('Campion's Entertainment at Brougham Castle, 1617', 63).

the periphery of the court including his former tutor John Coprario, Nicholas Lanier and Thomas Campion.

Amateur poets were equally aware of the musical conventions associated with the court masque. For example, the entertainment which Newcastle devised for Charles I shortly before the Civil War recalls the moral and social opposition typical of the masque. A rogue fiddler sings a ballad in which a sick poet is invited to dine with 'the nyne lady muses', a parody on Jonson's famous Cock Laurel ballad from The Gypsies Metamorphosed. Both fiddler and song belong to the base world of the antimasque and therefore cannot inspire the poet, but convinced that only music can cure him, the rogue calls for a moor to sing a solemn ayre to the theorbo. The singer's disguise and the nature of his song belong to the world of the masque in which discord is overturned:[211]

> You Gods this Poet now restore
> Or els he never can write more
> Him with poetick flames inspire
> And give him a celestial fire...

On the whole private entertainments required a smaller band of singers and instrumentalists than the court masque.[212] Jonson's text for the lord treasurer's show no longer survives, but it is possible to construct from the household records the approximate size and range of the band which participated in the device:[213]

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211. Portland MS PwV23 f. 11

212. For example, Lord Hayes Masque (1607) is fairly typical (even modest) in requiring forty-two singers and instrumentalists (P. Holman, Thomas Campion: The Masque at Lord Hay's Marriage (facs. ed., Menston, 1973), introductory note).

213. Salisbury MSS bills 22 and 33; see Appendix III

Table 7.1 Lord treasurer's show, May 1608

| | Voice/instrument |
|---|---|
| Boys | |
| Christian Crusse | singer/viol |
| George Mason | singer/lute or viol[214] |
| Sir Thomas Monson's boy | singer[215] |
| Men[216] | |
| Nicholas Lanier | singer/viol or lute |
| John Coprario | viol |
| William Frost | keyboard |
| Thomas Warwick[217] | keyboard |
| Suffolk's man | ? |
| Cumberland's man[218] | ? viol |

The setting influenced to some extent the number of musicians employed and the nature of the music which they performed. Inigo Jones's design for the lord treasurer's show is typical of the scenery which he devised for the court masque, but we do not know how the dimensions of the library at Salisbury House compared with the banqueting hall at Whitehall.[219] (see Plate 7)

Mason and Earsden's publication, The Ayres that were sung and played at Brougham, hints at the resources employed in the 1617 royal entertainment. The ensemble pieces sung during the masque on 7 August imply that at least six singers (one treble, three tenors and two basses) were involved in the performance staged in the hall or the

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214. Mason may not have sung in the entertainment for, according to Innocent Lanier, his voice had already broken by June 1608 (Salisbury MSS box U/54).

215. Monson is reputed to have financed the education of several young singers 'at infinite charge' in Italy (DNB, XIII, 646).

216. The singer and viol player Henry Oxford did not participate in the performance as he had already been dismissed from service (see Chapter 3, pp. 77-78). It is possible that Edward Winne, Robinson's cittern pupil, played in the entertainment as a lutenist.

217. Frost and Warwick are only referred to in the surviving sources as keyboard players.

218. Cumberland retained only two household musicians in 1608, a string player named Charles Pendrie and the trumpeter Arthur Wyatt.

219. S. Orgel and R. Strong, Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court, 2 vols (1973), I, 122-27; A.P. Baggs, 'Two designs by Simon Basil', Architectural History, 27 (1984), 104-10

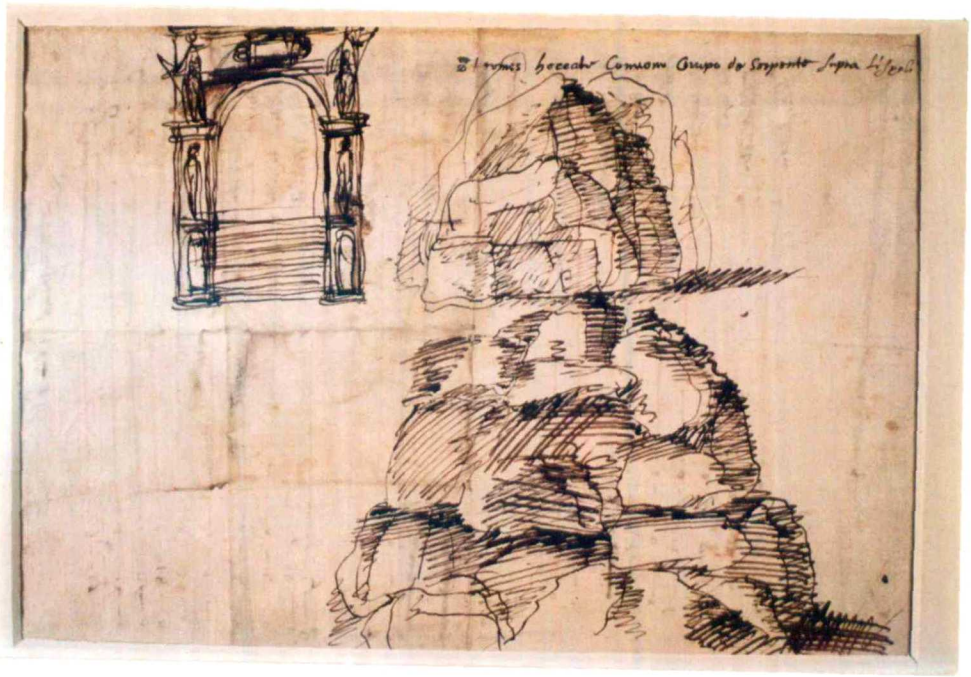

Plate 7. Inigo Jones's design for the lord treasurer's show, Salisbury House, May 1608. Reproduced by kind permission of the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees

great chamber of the castle, both of which were relatively small apartments by the standards of the banqueting hall.[220] It is reasonable to presume that the vocal scoring of the 1618 print is faithful to the original production, but the same cannot be said for the instrumentation. According to the household accounts several lutes and viols were used in the entertainment. However, the published ayres are accompanied predominantly by a single nine-course lute.

The masque from 'The Lorde and Ladye Huntingdons Entertainment' (1607) and the 2nd Earl of Westmorland's 'Raguaillo d'Oceano' (?1640) were presented in large state rooms which could accommodate several musicians, including wind players. Westmorland's device was almost certainly performed in the first floor gallery at Apethorpe which was approximately the same length as the Jacobean banqueting house, though half its width.[221] In the second entry of 'Raguaillo d'Oceano' the dances of Oceanus and his three sons were accompanied by a quartet of instruments commonly associated with the waits (hautbois, cornet, sackbut and double curtall), which generally would not have been permitted to sound in the more intimate chambers of the noble house.[222] The masque at Ashby-de-la-Zouche, the musical structure of which imitated early Jacobean court entertainments, opened with a company of 'hoboyes [which] playd untill the room was marshaled' thus creating a

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220. No. ix, the farewell song, is scored for a low mean voice which suggests that another singer was employed for the entertainment staged at the king's departure. I disagree with Spink's suggestion that the ayres were sung by four tenors with one reading from the treble clef at the octave below ('Campion's Entertainment', 67). Court productions employed boys. Cumberland retained apprentices and he had access to trebles from York Minster where Mason possibly served as master of the choristers from 1613 to 1616 (see Chapter 3, p. 80).

221. The banqueting house built by Cunningham which was destroyed by fire in 1619 measured 120 feet by 53 feet at its widest point (Orgel and Strong, ibid., I, 81; H.M. Colvin (ed.), The History of the King's Works 1485-1660, 4 (1982), 322-23; R. Coope, 'The "Long Gallery": its origins, development, use and decoration', Architectural History, 29 (1986), 43-72, see esp. p. 64). The Platonic inscription on the fireplace at Apethorpe reads 'Rare and ever to be wisht maye sownde heere/ Instruments wch fainte sprites and muses cheere/ Composing for the Body Sowle and Eare/ Which Sickness Sadness and Fowl Spirits feare' (J.A. Gotch, The Old Halls and Manor-Houses of Northamptonshire (1936), 31).

222. Leech, C. (ed.), Mildmay Fane's Raguaillo d'Oceano 1640 and Candy Restored 1641 (1938), 64

diversion while the guest of honour and the audience were seated. Cornets later announced the transformation scene and covered the noise of stage machinery as the masquers appeared. The normal spatial arrangement of the court masque was also used at Ashby. The songs were scored for a consort of soft music which probably consisted of lutes and viols while a band of violins accompanied the measures and the revels.[223]

### 3. Musical innovations beyond the court

It would be wrong to conclude from the foregoing discussion that secular musical taste was moulded exclusively within court circles. For example, one of the more popular instrumental innovations of the second half of the sixteenth century -- the mixed consort scored for treble viol/violin, recorder/flute, lute, bandora, cittern and bass viol -- originated in provincial society.[224] It is not known when or where this peculiarly English phenomenon was invented, though the earliest references to it (dating from the 1570s) are connected with the East-Anglian-based musician Edward Johnson, servant to Sir Thomas Kytson of Hengrave.[225] The mixed consort was subsequently taken up by London-based musicians but it appears to have exercised little, if any,

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223. Ellesmere MS EL 34.B.9

224. Morley's and Rosseter's printed collections and the Walsingham partbooks use the treble viol/flute scoring, while Matthew Holmes's set requires the combination violin/recorder (The first booke of consort lessons, 1599 (rep. 1611); Lessons for Consort, 1609; W. Edwards, 'The Walsingham Consort Books', M&L, 55 (April 1974), 209-14; Harwood, 'The Origins of the Cambridge Lute Manuscripts').

225. I am grateful to Peter Holman for this information. Lyle Nordstrom has argued that the mixed consort arose from the rearrangement of existing compositions, in particular, the treble ground lute duet ('English Lute Duet and the Consort Lesson', LSJ, 18 (1976), 5-22). Johnson may have purchased a treble violin in December 1572 for his experimental consort, though it is possible that the instrument was acquired chiefly as part of a set. For example, on Christmas Eve 1574 another servant received 12d 'for stringing of his bass violin'. Kytson is also known to have owned a chest of six violins at the time of his death (Hengrave MS 82(3) ff. 12 and 153). See also Hengrave MS 82(3) f. 223v and Robert Laneham's account of the Kenilworth entertainment presented before the queen in 1575 by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (R. Laneham, A Letter: whearin part of the entertainment unto the Queenz maiesty at Killingwooth Castl, iz signified (1575)).

influence on the court. The reason for this may lie in the structure of the royal music. Heterogeneous groupings did not become fashionable until after Henry's creation as prince of Wales in 1610, at which point the mixed consort had reached its apogee and could therefore no longer be considered a novelty within court circles.

Most of the patrons listed in Appendix I seem to have eschewed this development, though it is impossible to generalise on the basis of limited evidence. Sir William Cavendish's enthusiasm for the mixed consort may stem in part from his kinship ties with Johnson's patron. Cavendish's younger brother Sir Charles I had been married to Kytson's daughter Margaret until her death in 1582. The two families remained on friendly terms; for example, the composer John Wilbye who entered Kytson's service some time before 1603, was also patronised by the Cavendishes.[226] Hobbes's mid-seventeenth-century catalogue of the Chatsworth library includes Morley's The first booke of consort lessons and Rosseter's Lessons for consort.[227] Their purchase date remains unknown but the prints were almost certainly acquired by Sir William whose musicians had at their disposal all the necessary instruments to perform the mixed consort repertory.[228]

A second musical development attributable to private patronage, though one which had very limited appeal during the years c.1590-1640, was the introduction of the castrato voice into England. Until recently it was assumed that castrati were first employed in this country at the Restoration chapel of Catherine of Braganza.[229] However, one or possibly two singers are known to have served in gentry households at least seventy years earlier. The enthusiasm for Italian culture may

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226. Wilbye's first and second sets of madrigals were dedicated to Sir Charles Cavendish I and his niece Lady Arbella Stuart in 1598 and 1609 respectively.

227. See Appendix V

228. See Appendix VII. Cavendish's musicians probably used the treble viol/flute scoring. A violin is first mentioned in the accounts in November 1616 (Hardwick MS 29 p. 508).

229. R. Latham and W. Matthews (eds), The Diary of Samuel Pepys, 11 vols (1970-1983), III, 154, 427-28. The French musician, Mathurin Marie, employed in the household of Henrietta Maria, may have been a castrato; he is listed among the trebles in The Triumph of Peace (1634) (Ashbee, RECM, III, 5, 129, 245-52). I am grateful to Peter Holman for this information.

partially explain their appearance in England during the 1590s. Indeed, English travellers who crossed the Alps had the opportunity to hear castrati for they were employed in most Italian courts.[230]

Castration for musical purposes was almost invariably carried out in Italy where it was acceptable under ecclesiastical law. It is not clear from Sir Richard Champernown's correspondence if the practice was ever adopted illegally in England or if the boys whom he was accused of gelding had been sent abroad for the purpose:[231]

> ...my reputatyon ys callyd yn questyon as thogh I had requyryd or forcyd thys yowth with others to be delt with all agaynst reason & the law to be gellt which rumor being spredd ys most dysgracefull.

Contemporary English law does not address this subject.[232] Furthermore, protestant theological writings condemning the practices of the Roman catholic church make no mention of castrati.[233] English patrons regarded them with a mixture of novelty and suspicion.[234] Cecil's desire to obtain Champernown's singer, whatever the means by which he

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230. For a detailed discussion see J. Rosselli, 'The Castrati as a Professional Group and a Social Phenomenon, 1550-1850', Acta Musicologica, 60/2 (1988), 143-79

231. Salisbury MSS vols 31/48, 73/24 and 35/100

232. See, for example, W. Lambard, Eirenarcha: or of the office of the justices of peace (4th ed., 1599) and Dalton, The Countrey Justice

233. See, for example, Andrew Willet, Synopsis Papismi (5th ed., 1634), 'Concerning Church songs and musike...', 683

234. Bulstrode Whitelocke recorded in his annals in 1631-32, 'I had a servant very skillful, & so rare for his treble voice that he was by some suspected for an eunuche' (Lbl Add. MS 53726 f. 62v). Whitelocke's musician was more likely to have been a falsettist, though the voice was little cultivated in England (see Jones, The Performance of English Song, 44). In Venice in 1608 Thomas Coryat heard such a voice, '...a peerlesse and...a supernaturall voice for ...sweetnesse...I alwaies thought that he was an Eunuch, which if he had beene, it had taken away some part of my admiration, because they do commonly sing most passing wel; but he was not, therefore it was much the more admirable' (quoted in Jones, ibid., 44-45). Patrick Collinson surmised that a boyhood accident may have left John Williams, Archbishop of York (1641-46), with a castrato voice (The Religion of Protestants 1559-1625 (Oxford, 1982), 79). However, John Hacket recorded in his biography that in divine worship at Williams's private chapel the prelate bore 'the tenour part among the [voices] often' (Scrinia Reserata: A Memoriall Offer'd to the Great Deservings of John Williams, D.D. (1692), Part II/para. 33, p. 30).

achieved his voice, is entirely in keeping with his fascination for collecting the rare and exotic.[235] The eighty-year-old French castrato employed by three generations of the Spencer family was primarily of interest to the 2nd Earl of Leicester because of his lack of sexuality, though the earl noted of the singer that 'in his youth to preserve his voice which was thought good...he was made an eunuch.'[236]

## IV. RELATIONSHIP WITH THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

Popular musical culture united all ranks of late Elizabethan and early Stuart society.[237] Country dances were a common pastime at court and in private households.[238] Ballad singers accompanied by fiddle or harp not only frequented taverns and country fairs but they were also welcomed in the households of the nobility and gentry. For example, on 15 March 1626/7 a harper was employed at Londesborough during a ceremonial dinner given by Lord Clifford for Emmanuel Lord Scrope, lord president of the Council in the North, at which eighty guests were present including several local gentry.[239] Furthermore, the

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235. Stone, 'The Cecils Earls of Salisbury', 29

236. Lbl Add. MS 4464 f. 21, eighteenth century copy of Leicester's commonplace book, entry dated 15/25 November 1640. The singer is not referred to in the surviving accounts of the Spencers of Wormleighton (See Lbl Althorp papers).

237. T. Watt, Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640 (Cambridge, 1991), 1-2

238. For example, the 4th Earl of Worcester reported in September 1602, 'Wee ar frolyke heare in cowrt mutche dawncing in the privi chamber of contrey dawnces before the Qu' M' whoe is exceedingly pleased ther with' (Lambeth PL MS 3203 f. 18). Sir Thomas Kytson's 1602/3 inventory of music books includes 'v books covered with pchment, w$^{th}$ pavines galliards measures, and cuntry dances' (Gage, The History and Antiquities of Hengrave in Suffolk, 24). John Playford's The English Dancing Master (1651), a collection of country dances, was aimed at the upper ranks of mid-seventeenth century society.

239. Bolton MSS book 88. The ancient tradition of improvised epic song, performed to the accompaniment of the harp, had died out in court circles by the mid-sixteenth century. The harp was subsequently used for popular entertainment, but during the early years of James's reign the Earl of Salisbury's Irish harpist Cormack MacDermott who joined the royal household in October 1605 developed a new repertory in which polyphonic art music was scored both for the solo harp and in consort

transmission of ballads was not restricted to the lower classes. For instance, the new poetry of the 1580s and 1590s owed much to continental and classical models, but its adherents also reflected in their verse the native oral tradition. In A Defence of Poetry Sir Philip Sidney confessed to being moved by 'the old song of Percy and Douglas' (the ballad of 'Chevy Chase'). The Walsingham ballad inspired Sir Robert Sidney's dialogue between lady and pilgrim.[240] In addition, the repertory for virginal, lute, viol, and so on included compositions based on popular or traditional melodies. Tunes such as 'The leaves be green', 'John come kiss me now' and 'Whoop do me no harm good man' were ornamented, varied and adapted to suit the tastes of noblemen and gentlemen.[241]

**1. The role of the nobility in the shires**

Popular music was therefore an essential part of aristocratic taste. Coupled with the patronage of old calendar customs, it also became a mechanism for cementing the bonds between the ruling elite and the lower orders of provincial society. Ben Jonson's 1633 and 1634 royal entertainments were carefully designed to advance the Earl of

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with other instruments ( Holman, 'The Harp in Stuart England'). The fact that MacDermott accompanied Salisbury on his final journey to Bath in 1612 attests to the earl's preference for the harp (Salisbury MSS box G/13 f. 58v). MacDermott's composition entitled 'The Lor' Sheffelds pavin' may also imply that he was patronised by the Earl of Mulgrave. Irish harps are mentioned in several private archives dating from the early Stuart period, including the papers of James Lord Strange and the earls of Bridgewater and Rutland (Appendix VII; see also Hulse, 'Sir Michael Hickes', 226). Aristocratic patrons were also associated with itinerant harpists whose repertory comprised popular tunes and ballads rather than the art music of MacDermott and his contemporaries. For example, the 6th Earl of Derby and the parliamentarian peer, Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick each maintained a travelling harpist (Bolton MSS book 94 unfoliated leaves after f. 96v, entry dated 1 February 1611/2; Salisbury MSS accounts 127/9, entry dated February 1647/8).

240. J.A. van Dorsten (ed.), Sidney: A Defence of Poetry (Oxford, 1966), 46; Croft, The Poems of Robert Sidney, 35

241. The use of popular tunes in art music is discussed in a number of secondary works; see, for example, Wulstan, Tudor Music, chapter 3 'Small and Popular Musickes'; O. Neighbour, The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd (1978); G. Nelson, 'The Lyra-Viol Variation Sets of William Corkine', Chelys, 17 (1988), 16-23; D. and J. Baker, 'The Browning I', Chelys, 10 (1981), 4-10.

Newcastle's interests on both a local and national level. They convey a strong message about the role of the nobility in the shires, a message that would have received the crown's approbation. The early Stuart monarchy believed that liberal hospitality and permanent residence in the country helped to maintain order within the provinces and to counter any social alienation between the aristocracy and the local community. Furthermore, James had promoted holiday pastimes in the belief that they enhanced the power of the crown. The Book of Sports, issued by the king in 1618, amplified and clarified royal policy on this contentious issue.[242] Charles publicly shared his father's opinion. He reissued The Book of Sports in 1633 and rigorously enforced its contents, but he distanced himself personally from the celebration of traditional customs.[243]

Newcastle was a model country patron. His munificence and constant presence in Nottinghamshire throughout the 1620s and early 1630s earned him the respect and admiration of many of his contemporaries.[244] Moreover, he was assiduous and hardworking in local government. His ability to balance both the interests of the crown and his neighbours was rewarded in 1626 with the lord lieutenancy of his home county. The office had remained vacant since 1590 because of gentry hostility towards the local magnate, Gilbert Talbot, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, but Newcastle's loyalty to the Duke of Buckingham ensured his success in obtaining the post.[245] Two years later he was also appointed caretaker lord lieutenant of Derbyshire on behalf of his eleven-year-old cousin, William Cavendish, 3rd Earl of Devonshire.

Newcastle believed that royal bounty should be granted not to favourites but to the nobility and gentry who served the monarch at

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242. James's views on traditional customs had already appeared in print in his treatise Basilikon Doron.

243. Heal, Hospitality in Early Modern England, 118-19; K. Sharpe, Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I (Cambridge, 1987), 9, 15; Marcus, The Politics of Mirth, 1-20, 68-69; J.F. Larkin & P.L. Hughes (eds), Stuart Royal Proclamations, I (Oxford, 1973), 356-58; Larkin (ed.), II (1983), 112-13, 350-53

244. Hutchinson, Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson, 95

245. R. Cust, The Forced Loan and English Politics 1626-1628 (Oxford, 1987), 25, 197-98

court and in the country.[246] Jonson's use of local traditions and the music commonly associated with them emphasised Newcastle's dual role as country patron and the king's representative in the shires. The script of The King's Entertainment at Welbeck introduced local references into the framework of a dramatised equestrian show designed to appeal to the king. As Charles and his courtiers prepared to leave Welbeck following the banquet given in the king's honour, they were stopped by two comic presenters in the guise of Accidence, schoolmaster of Mansfield, the town after which Newcastle had taken his viscountcy, and Humphrey Fitzale, a Derbyshire herald. Fitzale invited the royal party to attend a Whitsun brideale, financed by Newcastle, the local patron, in honour of the wedding between his daughter, Pem, and Stub, yeoman of Sherwood Forest and neighbour of the king's host.

Newcastle's estate bordered on Sherwood Forest, one of the legendary centres for the activities of the medieval outlaw hero Robin Hood, and the earl himself was lord warden of the forest. The bridegroom of Jonson's entertainment shared the outlaw's yeoman status, and according to Fitzale, Stub and his companions were 'of the blood of ancient Robin Hood'.[247] Newcastle had already employed the Robin motif at Bolsover Castle. The ceiling of the heaven room, an antechamber to the earl's private chamber, depicts the ascending Christ surrounded by a heavenly choir of angels. In the corners cherubs carry partbooks on

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246. Newcastle associated himself with the ranks of England's old nobility, an image which Jonson ably projected both in the royal entertainments and in the poems addressed to the earl and his family (Herford and Simpson, Ben Jonson, VIII, 228, 232-33, 399-400). But Newcastle's paternal ancestors were not of aristocratic birth, though the Cavendishes were closely allied with the earls of Shrewsbury through the marriage of Newcastle's grandmother, Bess of Hardwick, to the 6th Earl. Newcastle himself enjoyed the patronage of the 7th Earl of Shrewsbury; he was educated in his uncle's household, served as Gilbert's executor, and succeeded to the latter's political dominance within the shire. Newcastle was ennobled by James I in 1620 when he was created Viscount Mansfield and received an earldom eight years later. But for Newcastle inheritance of a title was the true measure of nobility. It was therefore very important to him when he acceded to the barony of Ogle in 1629, the lineage of which dated back to the reign of Edward IV.

247. Quotations are taken from the Herford and Simpson edition of Jonson's entertainments (Ben Jonson, VII, 791-803). I am grateful to Cedric Brown for allowing me to read his unpublished article 'Courtesies of place in Ben Jonson's last two entertainments for royalty'.

Plate 8. Ceiling of the heaven room, Bolsover Castle, Derbyshire

which are painted the opening strain of '3 country dances in one', the first of which is entitled 'Robin Hood said Little John'. The tune was published in Thomas Ravenscroft's Pammelia (1609), one of the first major collections of popular or traditional airs to be printed in England.[248] (see Plate 8)

Dressed as an old May Lady, a reference to the date of the monarch's visit on the twenty-first of the month, Pem was an ideal partner for the descendant of Sherwood's outlaw hero. From the fifteenth century onwards Robin Hood and his mistress Marian, the king and queen of May, presided over the May games.[249]

In honour of the marriage Stub challenged his six companions to run at quintain, a custom associated with the nuptial feast in country society. Jonson's device alluded to Newcastle's equestrian skill. The earl's 1658 treatise on dressage attested to his expertise in haute école, and during his youth he regularly tilted at court, a chivalric pursuit traditionally associated with the nobility and one which would have found favour with the king, for according to Newcastle, Charles was 'the beste Man att Armes I vow to God that Ever I Sawe both for Grace & Shurnes Eyther att Runinge att the Ringe, or Runinge att Tilte.'[250] The rustic sport at Welbeck borrowed elements from the royal tournament; the combatants were disguised in livery hoods and each course was prefaced by a trumpet fanfare.

The nuptial revelry concluded in an appropriate rustic vein. The married couple and their twelve companions danced to a song accompanied by the bagpipe. The dance, like the symbol of marriage, united the shires which were in the command of Newcastle, the joint lord lieutenant:

> ... Here is the fruit of Pem,
> Grafted upon Stub his stem;
> With the Peakish Nicetie,
> An old Sherwoods Vicetie.

Jonson drew on the locality the following year in Loves Wel-come

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248. Faulkner, Bolsover Castle, 59; D.M. Bidgood, 'The Significance of Thomas Ravenscroft', Folk Music Journal, 4/1 (1980), 24-34

249. J.C. Holt, Robin Hood (1989), 160

250. Cavendish, La Méthode Nouvelle et Invention Extraordinaire de dresser les Chevaux; Strong, A Catalogue of Letters...at Welbeck, 224

in a comic scene featuring a surveyor and his attendant tradesmen involved in the construction of the new wing at Bolsover Castle. Following the welcome banquet the king and queen retired into the garden where they were met by Coronel Vitruvius and his mechanics. In celebration of the holiday granted in honour of the royal visit, Vitruvius instructed the musicians to 'beat your time out at the Anvile', to which accompaniment his tradesmen performed the morris, a dance popular in the Midlands. In using Bolsover as the setting for the entertainment and Vitruvius and his tradesmen as the comic players in it, Jonson was presenting to the royal couple the most conspicuous example of Newcastle's social status. Moreover, the scale of the new wing demonstrated that in the neighbouring shire of Derby the earl was equally capable of hosting distinguished guests.

Setting the entertainment outdoors not only provided a natural backdrop but it enabled Newcastle to invite many of his neighbours to wait on Charles.[251] In 1633 the local community became the dramatis personae of the Welbeck show; they were the guests at the wedding of Stub and Pem, feasting alongside the king and his courtiers. Their presence was designed to impress Charles with the extent of the earl's liberal hospitality towards all ranks of society and to create the impression that Newcastle ruled over an harmonious county. The entertainment also provided an opportunity for the king to meet some of his loyal subjects.

Indeed, for a brief period Welbeck had become the court in microcosm. Jonson's show was a public statement of Newcastle's affinity with the crown and the power with which he had been entrusted by Charles. But Newcastle, like his neighbours, was also 'the gratefull client' and loyal subject who must defer to the king's authority. Both at Welbeck and Bolsover the comic and local gave way to the royal and national, thus preserving ceremony and order. The final speech of the 1633 entertainment amplified the relationship between subject and monarch. The wedding guests were urged not to waste any more of the king's time. Charles was on progress to his native country to unify the kingdoms of Scotland and England, an act of the 'highest love and affection'.

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251. Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, The Life of...William Cavendish, 103

The divine right of rule of the early Stuart monarchy was a constant theme in court masques and provincial royal entertainments throughout the reign. At Welbeck in 1633 Newcastle was depicted as pater familicus, the local patron keeping a watchful eye over his country flock, but Jonson's final speech made plain that the king was the ultimate parent, the pastor 'whose single watch, defendeth all your sleepes!'. Jonson not only employed the Christian symbol of the caring shepherd but he also portrayed Charles in the song of welcome performed at the banquet as a pantheist god of nature, 'Into whose fostring armes doe run/ All that have being from the Sun'.[252]

Henrietta Maria's presence at Bolsover influenced the subject matter of Jonson's 1634 entertainment. The cult of Platonic love which flourished around the queen was exploited in court literature during the 1620s and 1630s and formed the basis of Jonson's Loves Wel-come. As Smuts has noted, the cult was 'the most radical manifestation of the effort to purify sexual morality' in Caroline Whitehall, but love was also identified with political virtue and order in the commonweal.[253] In Jonson's song of welcome the senses come together to praise the royal couple as the embodiment of love. The theme is continued in the outdoor entertainment which takes place in an enclosed circular garden around the Venus fountain, a symbol of Newcastle's love for his wife. The image of the fountain also represented royal justice and bounty.[254] Following the comic scene of Vitruvius and his mechanics, a second banquet is set down before the king and queen by Eros and Anteros, twin sons of Venus the goddess of love, who are quarrelling over a palm, but decide to divide it. Their reconciliation is attributed to the setting which is described as an academy of love, a

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252. The godlike image of Charles is also explored in Newcastle's entertainment. Awakened from his unconscious state, the poet does not attribute his recovery to the medicinal qualities of music, but to the restorative sight of the monarch before him: '...this power lies/ I'th radient beams, from your kinde Eyes/ The influence thus by your Sight/ Hath wraught this miracle to Night/ It is the King who heales by Touch/ And now by sight has done as much.' Charles is not only the divine healer; he is also the embodiment of musica mundana, the highest state in musical philosophy (Portland MS PwV23 f. 11v).

253. Smuts, Court Culture, 195

254. Peck, Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England, 1-2

natural expression of the perfect union between king and queen, Britain and France. The cupids are interrupted by the entrance of Philalethes, a lover of truth, whose speech ties together all the elements of Jonson's entertainment. Even the tradesmen's morris is construed as part of the love motif. Architecture and music, proportion and harmony, the themes of their dance, are taught in this divine school of love. Just as at Welbeck, the final speech refers to the relationship between monarch and subject. The entertainment is an expression of Newcastle's love for and duty towards the royal couple.

**2. Criticism of the court**

Popular culture not only had the potential to forge strong links between the ruling elite and the local community but it could also be used to highlight the growing remoteness of the early Stuart monarchy. The Earl of Newcastle was of the opinion:[255]

> That there is no better policy for a prince to please his people, than to have many holidays for their ease, and order several sports and pastimes for their recreation, and to be himself sometime spectator thereof; by which means he'll not only gain love and respect from the people, but busy their minds in harmless actions, sweeten their natures, and hinder them from factious designs.

Criticism of the court was a prominent motif in Caroline literature and was indicative of the ambivalence of noblemen like Newcastle caught up in the scramble for place and power.[256] The earl shared Jonson's

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255. Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, The Life of...William Cavendish, 130

256. Milton chose as the subject of Comus the degeneracy of the Caroline court and the need for reform among the ruling elite (M.C. McGuire, Milton's Puritan Masque (Georgia, 1983), 39, 82; Brown, John Milton's Aristocratic Entertainments, 2). The masque focuses on the controversy over the reissue of The Book of Sports and the trial of William Prynne whose work, Histrio-mastix (1633), attacked rural pastimes. The villain Comus symbolises the holiday recreations promoted by the crown which the Puritans believed spread moral corruption and turned men's thoughts away from the glorification of God. The revelry of Comus and his crew is typical of the Whitsun morris or the harvest home with its 'jocund Flute, or gameson Pipe' and 'wanton dance' (Bush, Milton: Poetical Works, 117-18, lines 116 and 171-77). The relationship between music and morality is addressed in several of Milton's works (J. Carey, 'Milton's Harmonious Sisters', The Well Enchanting Skill, eds J. Caldwell, E. Olleson and S. Wollenberg, 245-57, see esp. p. 257). In Comus where virtue overcomes vice Milton's use of song draws on the philosophical tradition of musica speculativa. The songs are

conviction that literature should not only entertain but instruct and reform.[257] During the 1630s and early 1640s Newcastle publicly expressed his criticism of the frenchified court in the plays which he wrote for the Blackfriars theatre and in 'The King's Entertainment'.

Newcastle was devoted to the concept of monarchy, seeing in its authority the 'foundation and support of his own greatness'. However, reflecting later on the causes of the Civil War, he believed that Charles's failure to maintain ceremony and degrees of honour had ultimately weakened the nobility and brought them into contempt.[258] He blamed the king's downfall on 'meane People' close to the royal couple who jeered and despised those noblemen who could not make 'le Bon Reverance & coulde nott dance a Sereban with castenettes off their fingers.'[259] Newcastle was not alone in voicing his discontent with the frenchified atmosphere of Whitehall in the 1630s. Several plays of the reign ridiculed courtiers who were 'governed by mode, as waters by the moone'.[260] French musicians were often the butt of satire.[261] In The

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associated only with immortal beings and emphasise the power of music to make body and soul harmonious and to bring man closer to heaven (McGuire, ibid., 112-13; P. Walls, '"Comus": The Court Masque Questioned', The Well Enchanting Skill, 107-113, see esp. p. 113). Political readings of the masque of Comus are wideranging, not least in the extent to which Milton's text is representative of Bridgewater's opinion of the Caroline court. The relatively public nature of the performance before an invited audience of county elite and town officials implies that the earl approved of Milton's intent. However, scholars have commented on Bridgewater's reticence in criticising the crown. The earl supported Charles but it is clear from his private papers that he disagreed with certain fundamental principles of royal authority (Marcus, The Politics of Mirth, 172-73). Furthermore, like Milton he was anti-Catholic, anti-Arminian, and an opponent of Archbishop Laud, though it would be wrong to assume that he shared the poet's more extreme protestant beliefs (Brown, ibid., 183 note 11).

257. According to Lady Newcastle her husband's 'chief design in [the comedies was] to divulge and laugh at the follies of mankind; to persecute vice, and to encourage virtue' (The Life of...William Cavendish, 109).

258. C. Condren, 'Casuistry to Newcastle: The Prince in the World of the Book', Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain, eds N. Phillipson & Q. Skinner (Cambridge, forthcoming); Strong, A Catalogue of Letters...at Welbeck, 210-13

259. Strong, ibid., 213

260. W. Cavendish, The Country Captaine, A Comoedye (1649), 11

Varietie, the second of Newcastle's Blackfriars plays, Monsieur Galliard claims that dancing to the French fiddle is the basis of good government for it quells any thought of rebellion and instills obedience to the monarchy. When asked for his opinion of 'an Irish harpe, a state organ or a passionate voyce to a lovers lute', Galliard retorts that 'Des dull tings make a de men melancholique, and den dey tinke on de Devill, and de treason...but begar des french fidles doe fidle all deis tings out of deir head.'.[262] The premise of Galliard's speech is reiterated in 'The Rogue's Song' from Newcastle's royal entertainment. The itinerant fiddler mocks the court's obsession in mastering the latest French dances which make 'Mens witts run into their heeles'.[263]

The antithesis of Galliard is Manley, a patriotic gentleman of honour modelled on Newcastle himself. Manley launches a vicious attack on the dancing master in which he looks back with nostalgia to the reign of the virgin queen:[264]

> There was musick then, and a Heaven and Earth, beyond your braules, or your Montague...[a gentleman] plaid to himself on a grave lute, or a modest Citterne, with a politick quill, far beyond your Geofrey fiddle, or your French kit, that looks like a broken fagot stick, at the biggest, and sounds as if it had got the French disease, when it snivels out a Coranto, or so hoarse with a cold, as if some great base Fiddle had silenced it.

Newcastle's use of nostalgia was complex, extending beyond the simple elevation of the past, particularly an Elizabethan golden age, in order to criticise the present. It encompassed a love of England, a certain xenophobia, and admiration for true nobility.[265]

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261. See, for example, R. Flecknoe, Enigmaticall Characters all taken to the Life (1658)

262. W. Cavendish, The Varietie, A Comoedy,lately presented by His Majesties Servants at the Black-friers (1649), 36-37

263. Portland MS PwV23 ff. 8-8v

264. Cavendish, The Varietie, 43

265. It is important to recognise that Newcastle's patriotic zeal did not blind him to the strengths of European culture. He was a pupil of the French riding master St Antoine, and his own treatise on dressage was influenced by the teachings of de Pluvinel. Newcastle's respect for classical architecture is evident in the building work carried out by the Smythson family at Welbeck and Bolsover during the

Nostalgia for the Elizabethan period often manifested itself through identification with renowned figures of the reign. Newcastle liked to think of himself as the successor to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Several details of the 1633 Welbeck show are drawn from Laneham's account of the entertainment which Leicester staged for the queen at Kenilworth in 1575 including the brideale and the quintain.[266] In The Varietie Manley, dressed in Elizabethan costume after the style of Leicester, is described as one of Arthurs Knights of the round table, an allusion to the chivalric tradition. Moreover, Manley is compared to the queen's famous dancing master Thomas Cardell, an oblique attack on the monopoly which French dancing masters enjoyed at the Caroline court.[267]

Criticism of continental foppishness was further expressed through a preference for native customs. In this respect music could be a particularly powerful medium for distinguishing between the English and the foreign. In The Country Captaine, the first of Newcastle's Blackfriars plays, Device who admits to being 'an English Monsieur made up by a Scotch tailor that was prentice in France' is invited to spend some time in the country. He mockingly replies:[268]

> I thinke your musicke is but course, there; wee'le have A Country dance after supper and A songe, I can talke loud to A Theorbo & that's calld singing; now you shall heare my ballade...A pittifull complaint of the Ladyes when they weere banish'd the towne with their husbands to their Country howses; compelld to change the deare delights of Masques and revells, for wassailes and windy bagpipes, in steede of silken fairies tripping in the banquettinge roome...

Device represents the 'meane people' close to the royal couple. His ballad strikes at the heart of noble hospitality and denigrates the importance of traditional pastimes which Newcastle saw as part of the foundation of a stable monarchy. By using popular culture to attack the

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1620s and 1630s. Moreover, he patronised northern European artists including Van Dyck and Alexander Keirincx, and his interest in scientific experiment brought him into contact with the writings of Derand, Mersenne, Descartes, and others (Girouard, Robert Smythson, 251-68; Trease, Portrait of a Cavalier, 64-65; see Chapter 6, pp. 163-64).

266. Laneham, A Letter

267. Cavendish, The Varietie, 31-32, 42

268. Cavendish, The Country Captaine, 15-16

critics of the frenchified court and its environs, Device undermined the validity of his own aesthetic outlook.

In The Varietie Manley upholds traditional customs through his defence of the English ballad. Elsewhere in the play a manservant recalls that during the Elizabethan period 'there was the quintessence of ballads...you went to schoole with 'em, I remember and learn'd no other bookes.' He cites 'The lord of lorne and the false steward' sung to the melody 'Greensleeves' (1580), one of the most popular of broadside tunes.[269] Ballads can be found in several of Newcastle's literary works. His parody of Jonson's famous Cock Laurel ballad in 'The King's Entertainment' has already been cited. In the Christmas masque which Newcastle wrote during the 1630s a tradesman sang a ballad of the earl's own devising to the tune 'Bessey bell'.[270]

Newcastle's patriotism was also expressed through his approval of country dancing. He later advised Charles II not to neglect the recreations of 'Contereye People [who] with their fresher Lasses...tripp on the Toune Greene about the Maye pole to the Louder Bagg-Pipe ther to be refreshte with their Ale & Cakes.'[271] Newcastle's advice echoes the nuptial revelry of Jonson's 1633 Welbeck entertainment in which Accidence invites the wedding party to a country dance which he contrasts with the stylised french dances of the court:

> ...refine
> Your Firk-hum, Jerk-hum to a Dance,
> Shall fetch the Fiddles out of France,
> To wonder at the Horne pipes, here,
> Of Nottingham, and Darbishire.

This clash of culture is also found in 'The King's Entertainment'. The vagabond fiddler, a typical example of the itinerant musicians who accompanied rustic dancing, ridicules the 'new Modes...Com'd fresh out of France, and by extension his court counterpart, the French dancing master.[272]

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269. Cavendish, The Varietie, 44; C.M. Simpson, The British Broadside Ballad and its Music (1966), 269-70

270. Portland MSS PwV23 ff. 9v-10v and PwV26 ff. 42-44v; Simpson, ibid., 298-99

271. Strong, A Catalogue of Letters...at Welbeck, 227

272. Portland MS PwV23 ff. 8-8v

Music emphasised the nobility of the patron. It ornamented and dignified the ceremonies commensurate with his rank. The entertainment of visitors from a wide cross-section of English society demonstrated publicly the liberality and magnificence of the aristocratic host. Prodigality was considered a virtue and music was frequently enjoined as its handmaiden. Several musical developments were initiated within the court and its environs, though in contrast to the house of Bourbon the early Stuart monarchy was not an arbiter of taste. By using the latest court styles the nobility identified themselves at once with artistic innovation and the crown; a number of vocal and instrumental genres performed within court circles were quickly disseminated throughout the country. The nobility realised that the patronage of popular or indigenous musical genres could strengthen their relationship with the county elite and the lower ranks of provincial society. As Newcastle showed in 'The King's Entertainment' and the Blackfriars plays, such genres could also be used to criticise continental fashions and the growing remoteness of the Caroline court.

The framework for the expression of aristocratic musical taste remained relatively stable during the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods. In contrast, secular musical fashion in England changed continuously: the madrigal gave way to monodic song, the art of vocal intabulation favoured by English lutenists was supplanted by the style brisé, the viol consort and the solo viola da gamba reached their apogee and the violin gained status as a consort instrument. Such changes were not without their social concomitants, but by the standards of the transformations wrought in the sixty years prior to 1590 and in the aftermath of the Civil War, the motives underlying aristocratic musical taste changed little.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

## DEVOTIONAL MUSIC IN NOBLE HOUSEHOLDS

Throughout the late Medieval and early modern periods household ordinances recommended daily devotion not least to create a loyal, closely knit community. Prior to the Reformation chaplains supervised the routine of religious observance, and in some noble houses mass was sung by resident choristers and singing men.[1] Following the events of the 1530s the regulation of the religious and moral conduct of household members gradually devolved from the chaplain to the master, though several protestant noblemen continued to maintain at least one cleric in permanent residence.[2] For the great aristocratic households one of the more significant casualties of the Reformation was the private chapel choir. By 1590 the English peerage had dispensed with the use of a formal body of singers whose sole duty was to accompany divine worship.[3]

The extent to which music formed part of the daily household rite remains a vexed issue in the study of seventeenth-century English musical life. The survival of source material is comparatively rare, and as John Morehen has recently noted, many settings of sacred and spiritual texts preserved in contemporary domestic anthologies were not

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1. S.R. Westfall, 'The Chapel: Theatrical Performance in Early Tudor Great Households', English Literary Renaissance, 18/2 (1988), 171-93, see esp. p. 173; Bowers, 'The Vocal Scoring, Choral Balance and Performing Pitch of Latin Church Polyphony', 57-64; Price, Patrons and Musicians, 49-50

2. Mertes, The English Noble Household, 142-43; L. Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800 (1977), 154-55; Girouard, Life in the English Country House, 58. Sir William Cavendish, for example, provided a chamber at Hardwick for three successive chaplains, James Starkey, Thomas Oates and Robert Bruen.

3. Whythorne, commenting on the state of music in mid-Elizabethan England, observed that 'dyvers noblemen and women, in time past, imitating the prince, would have Organists and singing men to serve God after the manner of that time with music in their private chapels, but that imitation is also left...' (Osborn, The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne, 244).

intended for use in divine service but sung purely for recreation.[4] Furthermore, taste in devotional music is difficult to discern. Part of the problem lies in the obscurity surrounding the personal religious views of the peerage. Few noblemen so publicly expressed their beliefs or remained unwavering in their doctrinal position as the Calvinist 3rd Earl of Huntingdon or the Catholic 5th Earl of Worcester.[5] For instance, Pauline Croft has identified in the case of the Earl of Salisbury,

> ...a gradual but very significant change of outlook, from orthodox Elizabethan protestantism to a more complex position in which both doctrinal and aesthetic sensibilities were moving in the direction later identified with Laudianism.[6]

Despite lack of evidence, a study of aristocratic musical patronage would be incomplete without an analysis of devotional practice within the context of the major religious developments of the period. This chapter examines the regulations for the conduct of household worship, the range of sacred music which accompanied daily devotion, including settings of the Anglican and Roman catholic rites and other non-liturgical texts, and extraordinary services involving family members, resident servants and local gentry.

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4. J. Morehen, 'The English Anthem Text, 1549-1660', Journal of the RMA, 117/1 (1992), 62-85, see esp. pp. 63-64

5. Cross, The Puritan Earl, xiv; W.R.B. Robinson, 'The Earls of Worcester and their Estates' (B. Litt., Oxford, 1958), 137. For example, there is some disagreement about Dorset's religious views. In his will, the earl referred in strongly protestant terms to joining God's elect in heaven, 'of which number throughe his infinite mercye and goodnes I do confidentlie and steadfastlye hope knowe and beleve that I am one' (PRO PROB 11/113/1). George Abbot praised Dorset for training his grandchildren in 'the trueth of religion, farre from Poperie and idolatrie'; however, the earl's son and heir, Robert, was a professing catholic and Dorset himself is reputed to have been one of Richard Blount's deathbed converts (Abbot, A sermon preached at Westminster, 18-19; S.M. Holland, 'George Abbot: "The Wanted Archbishop"', Church History, 56/2 (1987), 172-87, see esp. p. 181; A. Davidson, 'The Conversion of Bishop King: A Question of Evidence', Recusant History, 9 (1967-68), 242-54, see esp. pp. 242-43).

6. P. Croft, 'The Religion of Robert Cecil', The Historical Journal, 34/4 (1991), 773-96, see esp. p. 773

## I. THE CONDUCT OF DIVINE WORSHIP IN PROTESTANT HOUSEHOLDS

In the fifty years prior to the Civil War religious observance was subject to the laws of the established Anglican church as codified in the Elizabethan settlement and the Jacobean canons. During the summer following Elizabeth's accession a royal visitation had taken place to ensure the general use of the prayer book, modelled on the Edwardian texts of 1549 and 1552, and a set of royal injunctions drawn up which addressed matters not contained in the 1559 act of uniformity.[7] The injunctions stipulated that '...all the Queen's faithful and loving subjects shall from henceforth celebrate and keep their Holy-day according to God's holy will and pleasure...', and recommended prayer, communion and the study of biblical texts. Christians were advised to attend their own parish church, except on the occasion of an extraordinary sermon delivered in another parish within the same town.[8]

The Elizabethan settlement did not include specific guidelines for the religious observance of the household community though the lack of critical comment in both the act of uniformity and the 1559 royal injunctions implies that domestic worship continued to flourish in protestant England. The 1604 canons which codified the policies of the Elizabethan settlement partially clarified the views of the Anglican church on household devotion.[9] According to section LXXI, 'no minister shall preach or administer the holy communion, in any private house, except it be in times of necessity', namely when the communicant was afflicted by extreme illness. Communion and preaching were permitted however in consecrated chapels, providing 'the lords and masters of the said houses, and their families, shall at other times resort to their own parish churches, and there receive the communion at least once every year'.[10] That noblemen attended public worship is clear from the

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7. W.H. Frere & W.M. Kennedy (eds), Visitation articles and injunctions of the period of the Reformation, 3 vols (1910), III, 8-29

8. Frere & Kennedy, ibid., III, 15 and 20 (sections 20 and 33)

9. E. Cardwell, Synodalia, 2 vols (Oxford, 1842), I, 245-329

10. Cardwell, ibid., 287. Private chapels technically required a licence from a bishop in order to celebrate communion (Mertes, The English Noble Household, 140). A rubric to The Order of...Holy Communion in the Elizabethan prayer book noted that 'every Parishioner

pews and chapels set aside in parish churches for the sole use of the local magnate and his household. For instance, on 2 March 1617/8 William Cecil was granted a licence to build a chapel at St Etheldreda, Hatfield[11]

> ...for the use and only interest of the...Earle of Salisbury, and his heires and such as shall accompany him and them for the hearing of divine service and sermons there and for the erecting of monumentes for such as shallbe there interred.

The regular use of household chapels was criticised by some of the Anglican clergy. In the funeral sermon for the 6th Earl of Kent, John Bowle noted that 'God doth give that blessing to the publike Temple, that he doth not give to a private Chappel; Indeede they are Chappels of ease, more for their ease, than their honor'.[12] Despite the censures

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shall communicate at the least three times in the year, of which Easter to be one'. See also Cardwell, ibid., 256-57 (section XXI). In practice, most parishioners attended communion only once a year at Easter.

11. Salisbury MSS deeds 186/19

12. J. Bowle, A Sermon preached at Flitton in the Countie of Bedford, At the Funerall of the Right Honourable Henrie Earle of Kent, the sixteenth of March 1614 (1615), sig. F2 verso-F2[1]. Ironically, Bowle had previously served as household chaplain to the Earl of Salisbury (Croft, 'The Religion of Robert Cecil', 791). Gentlemen occasionally excused their lack of church attendance on the grounds that travel was difficult. Sir Henry Slingsby, for example, appealed to Richard Neile, Archbishop of York, to consecrate the family chapel at Red House in Yorkshire, 'being so far from our Parish Church at Moor Mountain; especially in Winter wether' (Parsons, The Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby, 18-20). In contrast, the 5th Earl of Huntingdon remarked that Sir Richard Wilbraham of Woodhay attended the parish church of Acton twice on Sundays, 'though it be three very longe miles and foule way from him' (Hastings MSS box 18 [f. 3], 'A note of my observacion from Donington in the County of Leicester unto Rea...', August 1636). I am grateful to Dr Kevin Sharpe for this reference.

From the Middle Ages the nobleman's closet and the household chapel, described in the fifteenth-century 'Orders of service' as the venues for the celebration of mass, were combined architecturally, the closet forming a gallery located at one end and looking down into a two-storey chapel (Lbl Harl. MS 6815 f. 23; Mertes, The English Noble Household, 140-41). Family and guests worshipped in the former and servants in the latter (Girouard, Life in the English Country House, 56). The gallery is often referred to in contemporary sources as the 'upper chapel' and the main room as the 'lower chapel'. This arrangement can still be seen at Hatfield. See also the early seventeenth-century inventory of the chapel at Hardwick Hall during the residency of the Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury (Boynton, The Hardwick Hall Inventories of 1601, 30; M. Girouard, Hardwick Hall (1976), 107-08).

of clerics like Bowle, many peers continued to worship for the most part at home. For example, the 7th Earl of Rutland attended the family chapel twice on Sundays, and on weekdays the Manners household worshipped in the great chamber at Belvoir Castle.[13] Other rooms of state were used for daily religious observance, including the great hall (Donington Park, the 5th Earl of Huntingdon) and the dining room (Chelsea House).[14]

The ordinances examined are fairly consistent as to the devotional routine of the household community. Twice daily before dinner and supper an officer such as the groom of the hall or the porter summoned family members and servants to divine worship by 'knollinge of the bell', at which point no stranger was permitted to enter the courtyard unless he was 'a man of quality'.[15] All resident household servants were expected to 'observe praiers'. In 1609 at Ashby-de-la-Zouche, for example, the gentleman usher kept a 'vigilant eye to marke who [was] absent' without the earl's permission, and offenders were sent to the household chaplain for their spiritual wellbeing.[16]

Shortly before the Earl of Middlesex's household gathered together for religious observance the gentleman usher 'spread...books' in the appointed chamber for 'my Lord, Ladies, daughters and strangers'.[17] The earl's household was instructed to attend 'devine service and

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13. R. Spalding (ed.), The Diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke 1605-1675 (Oxford, 1990), 102-03

14. Preaching was normally restricted to consecrated chapels, though the hall at Donington Park contained a pulpit and 'two longe joynd seats with backs for the maids to sit in at praier times' (Hastings MSS folder 13, April 1635). HL 'A Booke wherein is declared sundry orders...' pp. 5 and 33. See also Ellesmere MS EL 1180; Hardwick MS 26; Girouard, Life in the English Country House, 58

15. HL 'A Booke wherein is declared sundry orders...', p. 64; Lbl Add. MS 37343 ff. 135-36; Salisbury MSS accounts 32/6

16. Nichols, 'West Goscote Hundred', 594; HL 'A Booke wherein is declared sundry orders...', p. 2. Sir John Egerton's father stipulated that no one was allowed to depart 'unlesse some just occasion (knowne unto his Lo'pp or officers) may excuse him; upon such paine as shalbe ordayned' (Ellesmere MS EL 1180).

17. HL 'A Booke wherein is declared sundry orders...' pp. 12-13, 2

Table 8.1 Prayer books and metrical psalters

| Patron | Description in source | Date | Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5th Earl of Bath | Psalm book | Feb. 1648/9 | KAO U269/A518/1 |
| Countess of Bridgewater | Three Common prayer bookes 1. 1596 2. 1607 3. 1614 | Oct. 1627 | Ellesmere MS EL 6495 |
| | 2 books of Common prayers 1573, 1610 | Oct. 1627 | ibid. |
| | Two new testaments 1 with singing psal' 1600 | Oct. 1627 | ibid. |
| | Two psalme bookes in meter with the reading psalmes in the marg. 1. 1623 2.[ ] | Oct. 1627 | ibid. |
| 3rd Earl of Cumberland | Old bouke in paper roayle for service | 1595 | Bolton MSS uncat. inv. |
| 4th Earl of Cumberland | A servis booke | Oct. 1598 | Bolton MSS bk.218 |
| | Psalme book | Aug. 1609 | Bolton MSS bk.228 f.242v |
| | A new service booke...well bound and guilt | Sept. 1617 | Bolton MSS bk.97 f.49 |
| | 6 service books | Dec. 1630 | Bolton MSS bk.161 |
| | A psalme booke of Middlebrough printe with readinge and singing psalmes | 1631 | Bolton MSS bk.124 f.[19v] |
| | 6 service books for prayers | 1634 | Bolton MSS bk.173 f.40 |
| | Prayer book and psalm book | 1640 | Bolton MSS bk.179 |
| William Baron Cavendish | Gilt prayer book | Oct. 1601 | Hardwick MS 10A |
| | 2 prayer books | Dec. 1601 | Hardwick MSS 10A, 23 |
| | Book of common prayer | July 1604 | Hardwick MS 23 |
| | Book of common prayer | Sept. 1604 | Hardwick MS 10B |
| | psalmes in 4 partes | Feb. 1612 | Hardwick MS 29 p. 265 |
| 3rd Earl of Huntingdon | 2 books of common prayer | 1596 | Hastings MSS box 1, folder 1 |
| 5th Earl of Huntingdon | 2 books of common prayer | 1635 | Hastings MSS box 1, folder 11 |
| | One great book of common prayer & 4 lesser books | 1639 | Hastings MSS box 1, folder 13 |
| Earl of Leicester | A new testament, psalmes and stringes | Mar. 1621/2 | KAO U1475/A41/3 |
| Earl of Middlesex | 10 prayer books | 1629 | KAO U269/E264 |
| | 6 psalm books | ? | KAO U269/A389 |
| | 6 com' & psalm fol str. | Mar. 1630/1 | KAO U269/A460 |
| | 6 com' fol. large paper | Mar. 1630/1 | ibid. |
| | prayer book | Feb. 1631/2 | KAO U269/A402/1 |
| | 2 testaments, service & psalms | Dec. 1635 | KAO U269/A460 |
| 5th Earl of Rutland | 3 psalme bookes | May 1594 | HMC Rutland, IV, 408 |
| Earl of Salisbury | 8 service books | 1611 | Salisbury MSS box A |
| | 18 communion books | July-Aug. 1611 | Salisbury MSS bills 57/7 |
| | 2 communion books with psalms | Nov. 1611 | Salisbury MSS bills 67B |
| | 4 communion bookes with psalmes in fillitts, 3 communion bookes with psalmes in ouills | | |
| 2nd Earl of Salisbury | 10 service books | 1620 | Salisbury MSS box A |
| | Common prayer booke large guilt | Dec. 1626 | Salisbury MSS bills 210/5 |
| | Testament with the singing psalms | Dec. 1626 | ibid. |
| | 1 large prayer booke with claspes | June 1629 | Salisbury MSS box C/35 |
| | 11 prayer books, 3 prayer books fastened with chains | June 1629 | Salisbury MSS box C/8 |
| | 10 lesser prayer books | 1629 | Salisbury MSS box A |
| | 1 biblia lat' 12 with psalmes | Jan. 1634/5 | Salisbury MSS bills 210/16 |
| | 3 common prayer books/ 1 great common prayer; 3 lesser common prayer | 1638 | Salisbury MSS box A |
| | 5 prayer books | 1640 | Salisbury MSS box A |
| | 1 communion book with psalms | Jan. 1644/5 | Salisbury MSS bills 254/5 |
| | Greek testament with psalms | Apr. 1645 | ibid. |

sermonts', the former being defined in the introduction to the Elizabethan prayer book as the 'Common Prayers in the Church'.[18] It is evident from the early Jacobean ordinances drawn up by R.B. and for the earls of Bridgewater, Salisbury, Huntingdon, Bath and Leicester, and from the information contained in Table 8.1 ('Prayer books and metrical psalters'), that divine service was widely celebrated in noble households. For instance, Bulstrode Whitelocke noted during Sunday worship at Belvoir Castle in August 1635 that 'one of [Rutland's] Chapleins read the Common prayer, & another preached an honest good & learned Sermon.'[19] Ten of the service books listed in Table 8.1 were stored in the dining room at Chelsea House where the Earl of Middlesex and his family often assembled for daily devotion.[20] Most of the 2nd Earl of Salisbury's books of common prayer were kept in the chapels at Hatfield and Salisbury House.

**1. Devotional music**

According to the Elizabethan prayer book, the Anglican liturgy was intended to be 'read and sung'. Section 49 of the 1559 royal injunctions made recommendations concerning the style of music permissible in public (cathedral or parochial) and private (household) worship, the phrasing of which was deliberately ambiguous in order to accommodate the differing shades of protestant ideology which existed within the Anglican church:[21]

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18. The terms 'prayer book', 'book of common prayer', 'communion book' and 'service book' were used interchangeably during the period. In January 1645 the Long Parliament abolished the book of common prayer, replacing the Anglican liturgy with the 'Directory of public worship to God' (E.C. Ratcliff, The booke of common prayer of the Churche of England: its making and revisions 1549-1661 (1948), introduction).

19. Spalding, The Diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke, 103

20. Service books are also recorded in the great chambers at Windranwath and Hatfield Parsonage and in the parlour at Quickswood (see Table 8.1, entries relating to the 3rd Earl of Cumberland, the 1st Earl of Salisbury (Salisbury MSS box A, 1611) and his son (Salisbury MSS box C/35)).

21. Frere and Kennedy, Visitation Articles, III, 23

> And that there be a modest and distinct song, so used in all parts of the Common Prayers in the Church, that the same may be plainly understanded, as if it were read without singing. And yet, nevertheless, for the comforting of such that delight in music, it may be permitted, that in the beginning, or in the end of Common Prayers, either at morning or evening there may be sung an hymn, or suchlike song, to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be understanded and perceived.

None of the post-Reformation household ordinances examined comments on the role of music or the duties of resident musicians within the religious observance of the household community. However, devotional compositions spanning the twin traditions of parochial music (predominantly metrical psalms) and cathedral music (anthems and services) were owned by or dedicated to the patrons listed in Appendix I, including English and continental psalters, and printed and manuscript settings of the common prayers and other sacred or spiritual texts, some of which were acquired for use in divine service.

Psalmody

One of the most radical changes brought about by the Reformation was the involvement of the congregation in musical worship. English protestants along with other non-Lutheran sections of the Reformed church followed the lead of Jean Calvin who encouraged the use of scriptural texts as the basis of church songs.[22] The singing of metrical psalms modelled on the Geneva settings of Clement Marot and approved by the 1559 royal injunctions rapidly gained in popularity.[23] Within three years of the Elizabethan settlement the printer John Day expanded Thomas Sternhold's psalter, first published during the reign of Edward VI and subsequently augmented by John Hopkins, to include monophonic settings of all 150 psalms as well as metrical translations of the common prayers and nine original hymns.

Given that the prose psalter was a standard accompaniment to the book of common prayer from the mid-1560s, most of the psalm books

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22. Watt, Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 55

23. N. Temperley, The Music of the English Parish Church, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1979), I, 20; R. Leaver, 'Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes': English and Dutch metrical psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove 1535-1566 (Oxford, 1991), 117

listed in Table 8.1 can be identified as Sternhold and Hopkins's metrical psalter, which for the convenience of worshippers was issued annually in several formats (folio to 32mo) for binding with the service book and/or Bible.[24]

The complete edition of the Sternhold and Hopkins metrical psalter was generally accepted by all branches of the English church; the emphasis on scriptural texts suited Calvinists and those of a more Reformed persuasion while the inclusion of hymns and canticles for use in morning and evening prayer appealed to middle-of-the-road Anglicans. However, as Watt has noted, 'the success of the psalms was not only a matter of religious principle, but also of their practical memorability.'[25] At its most complete the metrical psalter contained sixty-seven tunes, but the psalms were made popular by a small number of shorter 'common' tunes transmitted orally which only appeared in print for the first time in the early 1590s.[26]

Between 1563 and 1621 a handful of four-part homophonic psalters derived from John Day's 1562 edition were printed for parochial or domestic use, though none supplanted the Sternhold and Hopkins monophonic version which monopolised congregational psalm-singing at parish level throughout the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods.[27] Four-part psalms may have enjoyed greater popularity among private worshippers, though so far as it is possible to ascertain Table 8.1 includes only one example of a harmonised metrical psalter. The song book of 'psalmes in 4 partes' purchased by William Baron Cavendish

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24. A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, A Short-title Catalogue... 1475-1640, 3 vols (2nd ed.,1976-91), II, 87

25. Watt, Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 56. In order to render the psalm tunes more accessible to musically illiterate worshippers the 1560 edition included a short treatise on the art of singing, and from 1569 onwards some editions were issued with solmization letters against the notes to facilitate sight-singing.

26. Thomas East, printer of the 'common' tunes, noted that 'in most churches of this realm' the psalms were sung to one of four melodies (The whole booke of psalmes, 1594 ed.).

27. The whole booke of psalmes by John Day (1563), Thomas East (1592), and Thomas Ravenscroft (1621); William Damon, The psalmes of David in English meter (1579) and The former Booke of the Musicke...conteining all the tunes of Davids Psalmes and The second Booke of the Musicke (1591); Richard Allison, Psalmes of David in meter (1599). Temperley, The Music of the English Parish Church, I, 52

in February 1612 may have been Allison's Psalmes of David in meter, a copy of which is known to have been owned by the family.[28]

Harmonised editions of the psalms in translations other than the Sternhold and Hopkins version were printed for public and private use during the early Stuart period. For instance, copies of Tailour's Sacred hymns (1615), a selection of fifty paraphrased psalms, and William and Henry Lawes's Choice psalmes put into musick (1648), composed originally for the Chapel Royal, were owned respectively by the Sidney family and the 2nd Earl of Westmorland.[29]

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28. Hardwick MS 29 p. 265; Hobbes E.1.A. Very little is known about divine service at Hardwick Hall during the lifetime of Cavendish's mother. However, the engraved eglantine table designed to commemorate the double marriage of Elizabeth to the 6th Earl of Shrewsbury and Henry Cavendish to Grace Talbot in 1568 includes a four-part setting of the 'Lamentation' by Thomas Tallis which first appeared in the 1563 edition of John Day's harmonised psalter (D. Collins, 'A 16th-century manuscript in wood: The Eglantine Table at Hardwick Hall', EM, 4/3 (1976), 275-79; Girouard, Hardwick Hall, 70-73). The posthumous editions of Damon's The former booke of the musicke...conteining all the tunes of Davids psalmes and The second booke of the musicke were dedicated to William Lord Burghley in 1591 by the publisher, William Swayne, a client of the Cecil family. Neither version survives in the Hatfield Library.

29. KAO U1475/Z45/2 f. 186v; NRO W (A) misc. vol. 45 (A) f. 25. In 1638 Henry Lawes also collaborated with George Sandys in A Paraphrase upon the Psalmes of David, 'Set to new Tunes for private Devotion: And a thorow Base, for Voice, or Instrument'. Included among the Bridgewater book collection at the Huntington Library are copies of the psalms by Damon (1591), Tailour and Lawes (1648); but it has not been possible to establish if these publications were bought by the 1st or 2nd Earls of Bridgewater (Backus, Catalogue of Music in the Huntington Library before 1801). Todd has suggested that the words of Henry Lawes's five Select psalmes of a new translation, to be sung in verse and chorus of five parts, with symphonies of violins, organ and other instruments (22 November 1655), which survive on a single quarto sheet inserted in the Bridgewater copy of one of Lawes's publications at the Huntington Library, were privately printed for the family chapel (H.J. Todd, The Poetical Works of John Milton, 6 vols (1801), V, 216-17; McClung Evans, Henry Lawes, 211). Settings of two of the psalms can be found in Lbl Add. MS 31434 scored for 2 trebles, contratenor, tenor, bass, violin and continuo: 'Sitting by the streames that glyde' (ff. 1, 14, 26, 38, 50, 62) and 'My soule the great God prayses Singe' (ff. 2-3, 15-15v, 27-27v, 39-39v, 51-52, 62v-64). Despite the abolition of the book of common prayer in 1645 the 2nd Earl of Bridgewater and his household continued to celebrate the Anglican service throughout the Interregnum (see, for example, Ellesmere MS EL 8037,'the Orders which I require and command to be observed by all the servants in my Family...', dated 24 June 1652).

In 1599 Richard Schilders of the Dutch town of Middleburg, one of the main outlets for puritan literature, produced a pirated edition of the English monophonic psalter with the prose version of the psalms taken from the Geneva Bible printed in small type in the margin, the purpose of which was to enable the singer 'to perform with better understanding the word of God.' This version was quickly taken up by the Stationers' Company which between 1601 and 1641 printed twenty-two editions of the Middleburg psalter principally for use by English puritans.[30] Table 8.1 contains three Middleburg prints, two of which were owned by Frances Stanley, Countess of Bridgewater, whose family is known to have held strongly protestant beliefs.[31] The 1623 copy listed in the table was the fourth of the octavo editions printed by the Stationers' Company, the musical settings of which were taken from East's 1592 harmonised psalter containing several tunes not printed in the Sternhold and Hopkins version.[32] In 1631 'a psalme booke of Middlebrough printe' was purchased for Henry Lord Clifford's daughter, Elizabeth.[33] The date of this psalter is not recorded in the household disbursements though it may be the 16mo edition printed in the same year. In contrast to the larger octavo format, most of the tunes printed in the smaller Middleburg books published during the Caroline period were taken from Ravenscroft's harmonised psalter of 1621.

Continental psalters printed in northern Europe also found their way into English noble households. For instance, Lady Grace Talbot,

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30. The evolution of the Middleburg print is discussed in N. Temperley, 'Middleburg Psalms', Studies in Bibliography, 30 (1977), 162-70.

31. Marcus, The Politics of Mirth, 174; L.A. Knafla, 'The "Country" Chancellor: The Patronage of Sir Thomas Egerton, Baron Ellesmere' and F.R. Fogle, '"Such a Rural Queen": The Countess Dowager of Derby as Patron', Patronage in late Renaissance England (Los Angeles, 1983); Chapter 7 fn. 256

32. Ellesmere MS EL 6495. Temperley has suggested that East's 1592 print found favour with educated puritan circles because of its musical similarities with the Middleburg psalter (The Music of the English Parish Church, I, 72).

33. Bolton MSS book 124 [f. 19v]. It is difficult to pinpoint the family's doctrinal position. During the 1620s, for example, Lord Clifford numbered among his clerical friends Tobie Matthew, Calvinist Archbishop of York, and his successor George Montaigne, a leading figure in the high church party (Lbl Althorp papers B1/32 and B1/39/1).

sister to the 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, was depicted in 1591 with a psalm book in French.[34] Three leaves from the superius part-book of Didier Poncet's Douze pseaumes de David a trois, quatre, cinc, six et sept parties (Antwerp, 1611) survive among the Mildmay-Westmorland papers: the table of contents and sig. H recto containing the opening of a seven-part setting of the final section of psalm 55 entitled 'Me voicy prest'.[35] It is not known when or where this Catholic psalter was acquired, though the publication could easily have been purchased through a London bookseller importing contemporary Dutch prints.[36]

Psalm-singing was clearly a popular activity in protestant noble households, but were the psalters described above acquired for recreational or liturgical use, and how were the psalms performed in domestic circles?

Recreational psalm-singing was a common pastime among godly noblewomen and gentlewomen. For example, in her youth the Countess of Westmorland's mother, Lady Grace Mildmay, was instructed to 'sing psalmes' to the lute, and during her husband's lengthy absences abroad she 'practised [her] voyce in the singing of psalmes.'[37] The metrical psalter was intended for the 'godly solace and comfort' of public and private worshippers, though some of the harmonised editions of the

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34. Illustrated in Price, Patrons and Musicians, 101. The copy of Speuy's Les Pseaumes de David mis en Tableture sur l'Instrument des Orgues & de l'Espinette (Dordrecht, 1610) preserved in the library at Hatfield was purchased by a descendant of the Earl of Salisbury.

35. NRO W (A) Box 4 parcel vi no. 1/M. Antwerp was one of the main centres for the dissemination of liturgical texts to England (Leaver, 'Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes, 57).

36. The ownership of such a print is all the more surprising give that several members of the Mildmay family were puritans, though as with many other Roman Catholic compositions, Poncet's psalms may have been acceptable to protestant worshippers.

37. Northampton Public Library Meditations of Lady Grace Mildmay, pp. 11, 46. R. Weigall, 'An Elizabethan Gentlewoman: the Journal of Lady Mildmay c. 1570-1617', Quarterly Review, 215 (1911), 119-138; T.E. Vernon, 'Inventory of Sir Henry Sharington - contents of Lacock House', Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, 63 (1968), 72-82; R.M. Warnicke, 'Lady Mildmay's Journal: A Study in Autobiography and Meditation in Reformation England', Sixteenth Century Journal, 20/1 (1989), 55-68. In the copy of the 1562 edition of Sternhold and Hopkins's metrical psalter purchased by Lord Burghley on behalf of his daughter, Anne, the explanation of the gamut which formed part of the short treatise on singing has been annotated (Hatfield Library).

Sternhold and Hopkins version, including those by William Damon (1579 and 1591) and Richard Allison, were specifically designed for the devotional recreation of Christians who

> ...after the serious labour of their calling are desirous rather to recreate themselves in singing of Psalmes, than in other exercises of lesse comfort and evill marke.[38]

These prints were issued with only the first part of each psalm underlaid and the remaining verses omitted, thus rendering them unsuitable for liturgical use.

Temperley has argued that aristocratic families 'recoiled from the congregational singing of metrical psalms and hymns' because the language was 'crude and for the most part distasteful to any sophisticated person.'[39] The fact that resident chaplains were generally paid for 'say[ing] divine service' or for 'readinge prayers' lends some weight to Temperley's thesis; however, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that congregational psalm-singing 'before or after Morning and Evening praier' formed part of the daily rite in certain noble households, including those of the earls of Bridgewater, Cumberland, Leicester, Middlesex and Salisbury.[40] Moreover, several metrical psalters listed in Table 8.1 were bound with the book of common prayer or the Bible which already contained the prose version of the psalms, thus implying that the former were purchased specifically

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38. Damon, The former Booke of the Musicke (1591), 'To the reader'. Swayne also referred to the medicinal qualities of psalm-singing in the dedicatory epistle to Lord Burghley. However, George Wither complained in 1619 that the psalms no longer evoked sincere devotion and piety: 'The little reverence that is used amongst us oftentimes in singing the psalms, especially in some private families (I dare not say, in our churches) is much to be blamed in many respects' (quoted in Temperley, The Music of the English Parish Church, I, 52). A similar view was expressed by Lewis Bayly, Calvinist Bishop of Bangor, who cautioned his readers to 'beware of singing divine Psalmes for an ordinarie recreation: as doe men of impure Spirits, who sing holy Psalmes, intermingled with profane Ballads' (The Practise of Pietie (12th ed. 1634), 364). Watt, Cheap Print and Popular Piety, chapters 1-2

39. Temperley's opinion is founded primarily on the criticisms expressed in George Wither's A preparation to the psalter, 1619 (The Music of the English Parish Church, I, 46).

40. Lbl Add. MS 29262 f. 4; Hardwick MS 10B. Strictly speaking, section 49 of the 1559 royal injunctions did not permit the use of psalms before or after the sermon; however, from 1566 onwards the metrical psalter stated this to be the case, thus giving the practice authority.

Table 8.2 Organs and their location

| Patron | Number of organs | Description | Location | Date/s | Source |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5th Earl of Bath | 3 | wind instrument | ? | vii-viii.1639 | KAO U269/A520/4 |
| | | organ | ? | i.1641/2 | KAO U269/A525/5 |
| | | organ | ? | xi.1646 | KAO U269/A518/1 |
| 4th Earl of Cumberland | 1 | organ | great parlour, Londesborough | < xi.1624 | Bolton MSS book 100 f. 97 |
| Elizabeth, Countess of Cork | 2 | 'payre of orgons' | great hall, Skipton Castle | i.1644/5 | Bolton MSS G7 |
| | | 'little orgaine' | billiard chamber, Skipton Castle | v.1645 | Bolton MSS G7 |
| 7th Earl of Derby | 1 | organ | ?, Knowsley | 1640 | Worcester College MS xxxv f. 47 |
| Dowager Countess of Derby | 1 | 'organes' | ?, Harefield | Michaelmas 1633 | Hastings MSS misc. box 1 Countess of Derby's expenses |
| 3rd Earl of Dorset | 1 | organ | ?, Knole | ? 1623 | Renshaw, BIOS Journal 4, pp. 35-36 |
| Earl of Middlesex | 2 | 'payer of organes' | dining room, Chelsea House | 1629 | KAO U269/K264 |
| | | 'paire of organes' | great chamber, ? | ? | KAO U269/K293 |
| Earl of Mulgrave | 1 | organ | ?, Hammersmith | xi.1630 | Bolton MSS book 161 |
| 4th Earl of Pembroke | 1 | organ | ?, Barnard's Castle | xi.1641 | Bolton MSS book 179 |
| 6th Earl of Rutland | 1 | organ | chapel, Belvoir Castle | vi.1619 | HMC Rutland, IV, 516, 529 |
| Earl of Salisbury | 3 | portative organ | ? | iv.1608 | Salisbury MSS bills 33 |
| | | portative organ | ? | iv.1609 | accounts 160/1 f. 42 |
| | | 'greate winde instrum't' | great chamber, Hatfield | 1611 | box A |
| 2nd Earl of Salisbury | 4 | 'greate winde instrum't' | great chamber, Hatfield | vii.1612- > vi.1647 | box A, B/5, D/2 |
| | | great organ | great chamber, Salisbury House | vi.1629 > iii 1648/7 | box C/4, 5, 8, 9 |
| | | great wind instrument | great withdrawing chamber, Salisbury House/ | vi.1629- > iii.1640 | box C/8, 9 |
| | | | Lady Lisle's bedchamber, Salisbury House | < iii.1645/6- > iii.1646/7 | box C/4, 5 |
| | | 'paire of organes uppon a frame' | upper chapel, Salisbury House | vi.1629- > iii.1646/7 | box C/4, 5, 8, 9 |
| Earl of Suffolk | 1 | portative organ | Whitehall Palace | < iv.1608 | Salisbury MSS bills 33 |

for use in divine worship.

Psalm-singing within the context of the daily household rite may have been accompanied by resident musicians on a variety of instruments including keyboard.[41] However, the location of domestic organs is not particularly illuminating with regard to performance practice. Of the instruments listed in Table 8.2, only two are known to have stood in the family chapel. By 1629 a portative instrument had been placed in the upper gallery of the chapel at Salisbury House where the 2nd Earl and his family gathered for divine service. The Burward organ commissioned by the 6th Earl of Rutland in 1619 was probably built for the chapel at Belvoir Castle, though Whitelocke in his description of Sunday worship in the mid-1630s makes no mention of the instrument being played during the common prayers.[42] Two other domestic organs were situated in chambers known to have been used for religious observance -- the great hall at Skipton Castle and the dining room at Chelsea House -- but it is questionable whether or not these instruments accompanied divine service.

In order to make their publications commercially viable the composers-arrangers of psalm books designed for recreational use could offer a variety of performing combinations similar to those found in contemporary secular music prints. To some extent the scoring of Allison's Psalmes of David in meter resembled Morley's The first booke of consort lessons published in the same year, which may partially explain its appearance in the Cavendish household.[43] Printed in table format, Allison's psalms were 'to be sung and plaide upon the Lute, Orpharyon, Citterne or base Violl, severally or altogether, the singing part to be either tenor or treble to the Instrument, according to the nature of the voyce, or for fowre voyces'. Tailour's Sacred

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41. For example, the title-page of John Day's 1563 harmonised psalter recommended that the psalms 'be song to al musical instrumentes'.

42. Thomas Coates, a Stamford craftsman, was paid in 1638 for repairing the chapel organ (HMC Rutland, IV, 529). Spalding, The Diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke, 102-03. According to a 1906 guide book, the Jacobean organ at Knole (earls of Dorset) was located in the organ room adjacent to the chapel, but it is not known if this arrangement applied during the 1620s (M. Renshaw, 'An Early 17th Century British Organ, a preliminary study', Bios Journal, 4 (1980), 34-42, see esp. p. 35).

43. See Chapter 7, p. 247

Hymns scored for solo treble voice (the only part to be underlaid) accompanied by viol consort belongs to the genre of consort song, though the print also contains alternative accompaniment for lute, orpharion or lyra viol.[44]

Anthems and services in cathedral style

Owing to the disbandment of private chapel choirs in the years following the English Reformation divine service in cathedral style was not widely sung in Elizabethan and early Stuart noble households. At certain times of the year domestic religious observance may have been conducted by choristers and singing men from cathedrals or from the handful of local parish churches, such as Wrexham and Ludlow, which could afford to maintain a professional body of singers.[45] Several of the peers listed in Appendix I retained links with major choral foundations, trawling their ranks as a potential source of household apprentices, employing individual musicians on a regular basis, and seeking the advice of organists on a variety of musical issues.[46] However, lay patrons generally lived too far from the ecclesiastical institutions which they actively supported for choral singers to participate in household devotion other than occasionally.

Nevertheless, the inclusion of canticles and hymns in both the monophonic and harmonised versions of the Sternhold and Hopkins

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44. Both publications are discussed in V.L. Dimsdale, 'English Sacred Music with Broken Consort', LSJ, 16 (1974), 39-64. See also R.E. Anderson, 'Richard Alison's Psalter (1599) and Devotional Music in England to 1640', 2 vols (Ph.D., Iowa, 1974)

45. P. le Huray, 'The Chirk Castle Partbooks', Early Music History, 2 (1982), 17-37, see esp. p. 20; A Smith, 'Elizabethan Church Music at Ludlow', M&L, 49/2 (1968), 108-21. In 1581 an agreement was made between Sir Henry Sidney, lord president of the Council in the Marches, and the church at Ludlow on the manner in which choral services were to be sung during his attendance at public worship (Smith, ibid., 113). It is possible that the choir also sang at Ludlow Castle, residence of the lord president. Sidney made considerable alterations to the Norman chapel where his household and members of the council celebrated divine service (Price, Patrons and Musicians, 63; C. Hampton, Ludlow Castle: a guided tour (Leominster, 1977), section 4).

46. Most notably the earls of Derby (Chester Cathedral), Cumberland (York Minster), Hertford (Salisbury Cathedral), Bath (Exeter Cathedral) and Rutland (Southwell Minster).

metrical psalter enabled domestic communities to sing the common prayers.[47] Noble households with a core of musically literate members were to all intents and purposes equipped to perform anthems or even services in cathedral style. Moreover, settings of sacred and spiritual texts were widely disseminated in domestic anthologies of which two, Byrd's Psalmes, songs and sonnets (1611) and Amner's Sacred hymnes (1615), containing full and verse anthems scored for voices and viols, were dedicated to the 4th Earl of Cumberland and the 3rd Earl of Bath respectively.[48] However, as with many of these 'secular' collections, there is little evidence to suggest that they were designed for liturgical use. Like the harmonised versions of the metrical psalms the majority of domestic anthems were sung for devotional recreation.[49] Yet, in the opinion of le Huray, the recent discovery of the Chirk Castle part-books compiled for Sir Thomas Middleton

> ...hint[s] at the possibility that the singing of Services and anthems in household chapels may have been more widespread than has so far been suspected, at least during the Laudian revival of the 1630s.[50]

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47. Leaver, 'Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes', 256

48. See, for example, C. Monson, Voices and Viols in England: The Sources and the Music (Ann Arbor, 1982). Six anthems for voices and viols by William Symmes and Thomas Warwick, employed in the households of the earls of Dorset and Salisbury respectively, survive in manuscript collections dating from the early seventeenth century. However, none of these works can be ascribed with any degree of certainty to the period which Symmes and Warwick spent in private service. One music historian has suggested that Amner's book was composed for the Bourchier household, but there is no evidence to verify this claim (K.R. Long, The Music of the English Church (1972), 185). J. Kerman, The Masses and Motets of William Byrd (1981), 102

49. Songs of a devotional nature were published in a number of late Elizabethan and early Stuart collections, of which six were dedicated to patrons listed in Appendix I or to members of their immediate family circle: Attey, The first booke of ayres (1622), Whythorne, Duos...for two voyces (1590), Bartlet, A booke of ayres (1606), Tomkins, Songs of 3.4.5. and 6 parts (1622), Greaves, Songs of sundrie kinds (1604) and Dowland, A pilgrimes solace (1612) (for dedicatees see Appendix VI). Copies of the prints by Greaves, Dowland, Attey and Tomkins were acquired by the Cavendish family (see Appendix V/V). Thomas Screven was instructed to obtain a copy possibly of Whythorne's publication for Elizabeth Manners (HMC Rutland, I, 299).

50. Le Huray, 'The Chirk Castle Partbooks', 27. Le Huray's hypothesis is taken up in my forthcoming article 'Music and piety in noble and gentry households at the height of the Laudian revival'.

Although the doctrinal temper of the Elizabethan and Jacobean church was predominantly Calvinist, an alternative strand of thinking, later to be identified with Arminianism, developed in England in the 1590s. This movement gained considerable ground towards the end of James's reign, reaching its apogee in the pre-Civil War years under the banner of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury.[51] The high church party believed that ceremony and ritual were essential to true religion. The musical enhancement of the liturgy was a keystone of the Laudian principle of the 'beauty of holiness':[52]

> ...there being nothing of that kinde, more powerfull, than melody both vocall and instrumentall, for raising of mens hearts, and sweetning their affections towards God. Not anything, wherein the militant Church here on Earth, hath more resemblance to the Church in heaven triumphant; then in that sacred and harmonious way of singing prayse, and Allelujahs to the Lord our God, which is and hath of long beene used in the Church of Christ.

However, it would be wrong to assume that a resurgence of cathedral style music within household worship was directly the result of the Laudian revival or, for that matter, that services and anthems were sung only in the private chapels of lay Arminians during the 1630s.

In the 1590s, for example, Richard Hooker in his Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity had justified the need for ceremony and ritual within the Anglican church, and defended the role of music in divine worship.[53] Furthermore, the Earl of Salisbury's chapel at Hatfield is an early seventeenth-century manifestation of the 'beauty of holiness' which came to be associated primarily with the Laudian church. The decoration transgressed Jacobean protestant convention in both its Flemish stained glass depicting scenes from the Old Testament and its

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51. N. Tyacke, Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c. 1590-1640 (Oxford, 1987); A. Foster, 'Church Policies of the 1630s', Conflict in Early Stuart England, eds R. Cust and A. Hughes, 193-223

52. Peter Heylyn, A History of the Sabbath (2nd ed., 1636), II, 156. See also J.G. Hoffman, 'The Puritan Revolution and the "Beauty of Holiness" at Cambridge - The Case of John Cosin, Master of Peterhouse and Vice-Chancellor of the University', Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 72 (1984), 94-105, see esp. pp. 98-99

53. Price, Patrons and Musicians, 59; P. Lake, 'Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge, and avant-garde conformity at the court of James I', The Mental World of the Jacobean Court, 113-33, see esp. pp. 113-14. P. Lake, 'Calvinism and the English Church 1570-1635', Past and Present, 114 (1987), 32-76, see esp. p. 34

Plate 9. Chapel, Hatfield House, Hertfordshire

mannerist paintings recounting the life of Christ. The only comparable English example of the latter adorned the chapel in St John's College, Cambridge at the height of the Laudian revival.[54] (see Plate 9)

Salisbury also patronised clerics associated with the emerging high church party, including Richard Neile, dean of Westminster Abbey (1605-1611), who had formerly been the earl's chaplain. Salisbury is known to have shared some of Neile's views in matters of religion. The dean was particularly interested in church music and at the Abbey improved the standard of the choir and introduced anthems into the morning service.[55] Salisbury's worship was confined mainly to his own private chapels or great chambers where psalm-singing formed part of the daily ritual. In the absence of more detailed information it is impossible to ascertain if the earl's musicians also sang anthems and services in cathedral style, though both would have been entirely in keeping with Salisbury's doctrinal position and with his patronage of religious art.

Conversely, music and godly piety were far from polarised in the years leading up to the Civil War. James Lord Strange, described by the puritan Sir Simonds d'Ewes as a 'great countenancer of religion and a constant practiser of it', was a careful observer of the rites and ceremonies of the established Church.[56] The tenor of Strange's devotional writings places his doctrinal position firmly within the boundaries of Elizabethan or Jacobean protestantism, but religious observance in the Stanley household included devotional music of a

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54. For a discussion of the paintings' provenance see Auerbach and Kingsley Adams, Paintings and Sculpture at Hatfield House, 104. Salisbury MSS box B/5 f. 14v (inventory dated 31 July 1612: 'Pictures in the Chappell'); box G/13 f. 21 (to Rowland Buckett 'for painteinge 2 picktures uppon cloth, the one is the Angells salutation to the Virgin Marie and th'other is the Angell ap' to the shippards, for the Chapell at Hatfield and done by my lords appointment, xxiii l'; both paintings are illustrated in Auerbach and Kingsley Adams, op. cit., 152-53). Tyacke, Anti-Calvinists, 194

55. Croft, 'The Religion of Robert Cecil', 791-92; A.W. Foster, 'A Biography of Archbishop Neile (1562-1640)' (D. Phil., Oxford, 1978), 3, 7, 15, 28; Tyacke, ibid., 109

56. B. Coward, 'The Stanleys: Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby', Chapter 11. In 1626 Lord Strange married Charlotte de la Tremouille, niece of the Duke de Bouillon, the head of the protestant party in France.

relatively elaborate nature. Strange's notebook of 'prayers, ejaculations, and religious sentiments and anecdotes' contains a paraphrased sacred text ('Come yee hearts that be holy') derived from psalms 96 and 104, and the canticle 'Benedicite opera omnia'

> ...made at Knowsley in the year 1640 and there set in musique. It was often sung there to the organ, lute Irish harpe and violls - if these troubles had not hapned, it had been perfected for the whole creed was intended in this manner.[57]

Lord Strange is not an isolated example. Despite his close friendship with Laud, Sir James Whitelocke strongly disagreed with the prelate on matters of religion.[58] The 1631 description of Whitelocke's chapel at Fawley Court is consonant with godly piety. The pulpit was placed level with the communion table (signifying the equality of the word with the sacrament), the altar was not railed in, and the walls and windows were not adorned with images or crucifixes.[59] However, Bulstrode Whitelocke noted that his father's musicians 'supplied in the nature of a quire ye dayly service...with organ & violl.'[60] The debate which ensued at the consecration service of Sir James's chapel on 27 December 1631 reflects the gradations of opinion which existed within the Caroline church on the role of music in divine worship:[61]

> ...your Grandfather having a very good organ in his chappell, they had good musicke, by way of verse, before the lessons, with lutes, violes, harpe & organ playing togither, all in an upper roome att the lower end of the chappell, with a courtain before them, so that the musick discending, was the more sweet & pleasing, & the musitians not being seen, it seemed, the more rare, diffused, & aery, & was the more delightfull to the auditors. The anthems were all made & sung by his own meniall

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57. Worcester College, Oxford MS xxxv pp. 45-47, copy dated 1686. The text is reproduced as Appendix X.

58. Laud and Whitelocke had been fellow students at St John's, Oxford where the latter's son, Bulstrode, was educated under the prelate's watchful eye during his presidency of the college (Spalding, The Diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke, 47).

59. Spalding, ibid., 65

60. Longleat, Whitelocke papers vol. 24 f. 239. The parliamentary diarist, Richard Hutton, described Sir James, 'il fuit un que love musick, et ad erect un chapell consecrated, et ad organ et cathedrall anthims et prayers in son chapel' (W.R. Prest, 'The Diary of Sir Richard Hutton', Selden Society (1991), 91).

61. J.Bruce (ed.), 'Liber Familicus', Camden Society, 70 (1858), 110-11; Lbl Add. MS 53726 ff. 64v-65, 80

> servants some of thembeing excellent composers, as his chaplein [Mr Jones], his organist [Mr Ellis], Mr Rowden & Mr Wensley. The B'p of Lincoln the Diocesan liked all very well, & told your grandfather that he had never heard any better, but in the K' chappell only, & generally all the company commended the musicke very highly.[62] Yet some among [the congregation] in private discourse seemed not satisfyed of the lawfullness of musicke in churches, butt they wished well to consider the exact order & precept of God for musicke in the church of his people the Jewes, & that the same was no part of the ceremoniall lawe, abolished by the comming of Christ, no more then churches or bookes were./ That in the new Testament, we find no forbidding of musicke in churches, the apostle exhorts to sing psalmes, which was part of that musicke, & att this day all reformed churches approve & make use of vocall musicke in singing of psalmes wherin the instruments of musicke doe adde muche to the harmony, & keep the singers in the better tune & order./ It was alleadged that the musicke in your grandfathers chappell was lesse offensive than elsewhere, the words of every anthem being the scripture, & bookes were layd before every gentleman of the words that were sung, so that all might reade what was sung, & understand it.

Bulstrode Whitelocke defended his father's taste in sacred music even though he personally did not subscribe to it. Following Sir James's death in June 1632 psalm-singing to the organ replaced anthems and services in cathedral style in the chapel at Fawley Court.[63]

Divine worship in Christopher Baron Hatton's household at Kirby Hall, Northamptonshire during the late 1630s and early 1640s is a typical example of the Laudian revival in sacred music. The composer George Jeffreys served Hatton at this time, but his almost exclusive output of Latin and English devotional and liturgical settings,of which the earliest dated example is the four-part anthem 'Turne thee againe', written in 1648, has been attributed to the Interregnum and Restoration periods. Jeffreys's propensity towards sacred music is generally explained as the product of study of Italian masters, initially in

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62. John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln was a Calvinist (Tyacke, Anti-Calvinists, 209 footnote 161). During his episcopate morning and evening service at Buckden, the bishop's palace, were accompanied by 'Musick and Organ, exquisitely, as in the best Cathedrals' (Hacket, Scrinia Reserata, Part II/33 pp. 30-31). See also the dedicatory epistle to Bishop Williams in Anthony Cade's A Sermon necessary for these times...To which is adjoyned a necessary, brief, and pithy treatise of the Ceremonies of the Church of England (Cambridge, 1636). Michael East dedicated his Sixt Set of Bookes (1624), a collection of anthems, to Williams in acknowledgement of an annuity which the prelate had bestowed on him in response to hearing some of the composer's motets.

63. Ibl Add. MS 53726 f. 80

Hatton's service and subsequently at Oxford following the outbreak of Civil War. It cannot be denied that the study of continental music and the charged atmosphere of the royalist court in exile had a marked influence on Jeffreys's compositional development, but his employment under Hatton, himself a lay Arminian, and the influence of Hatton's circle of divines in the 1630s should be regarded as equally important in moulding Jeffreys as a composer of Anglican music.[64] Furthermore, Robert Thompson has argued in a recent study of the watermarks contained in Jeffreys's score book, Ibl Add. MS 10338, that over fifty sacred works were composed before 1648, some as early as 1640. The evidence concerning Hatton's doctrinal position supports Thompson's revised dating and implies that Jeffreys composed sacred music for Hatton's chapel. Moreover, the Venetian music prints acquired by Hatton in the late 1630s may have been used first in divine worship at Kirby Hall and copied thereafter by Jeffreys and others for the Oxford court.[65]

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64. Hatton's patronage of the high church party was probably borne of his connections with Cambridge University where Arminianism had taken a strong hold by the late 1620s (see the dedicatory epistles to Hatton in Sir Hamon L'Estrange's The Alliance of Divine Offices (1659) and Peter Hausted's Ten Sermons (1636); Tyacke, Anti-Calvinists, 45-57). Northamptonshire was particularly noted for its puritanism. However, to the north-east of the shire was an Arminian enclave at the centre of which stood Kirby Hall. This branch of the Laudian church probably found its roots at Cambridge where at least three of the divines befriended and promoted by Hatton were educated: Edward Martin (rector of Uppingham on the Rutland-Northamptonshire border and president of Queen s' College, Cambridge), Peter Hausted and Jeremy Taylor, both of whom succeeded to the curacy of Uppingham and enjoyed other livings under Hatton patronage (J. Twigg, A History of Queen s' College, Cambridge 1448-1986 (Cambridge, 1987), 42-50; Ibl Harl. MS 7019; DNB, IX 171-72 and XIX, 422-23; L.S. Mills, Peter Hausted, Playwright, Poet and Preacher (Indiana, 1944)).

65. R. Thompson, 'George Jeffreys and the 'stile nuovo' in English sacred music: a new date for his autograph score, British Library Add. MS 10338', M&L, 70/3 (1989), 317-41; D. Pinto, 'The Music of the Hattons', RMA Research Chronicle, 23 (1990), 79-108; J.P. Wainwright, 'George Jeffreys' copies of Italian music', RMA Research Chronicle, 23 (1990), 109-24

## II. CATHOLIC LITURGICAL PRACTICE

Observance of the Roman Catholic liturgy was forbidden in post-Reformation England. Nevertheless, the Catholic community, organised in small patriarchal units and centred mostly in the provincial households of the elite, secretly continued to celebrate mass.[66] The majority of patrons listed in Appendix I recognised the established Anglican church, though at least six earls and two countesses were professing Catholics or crypto-papists: the 2nd Earl of Dorset, the 6th Earl of Rutland,[67] the 4th and 5th Earls of Worcester,[68] the Earl of Northampton, Earl and Countess Rivers and Mary, Countess of Shrewsbury.[69]

Very little is known about the manner in which the Roman Catholic rite was practised in noble households after the Reformation. In 1595 it was rumoured that Lady Shrewsbury was in trouble for 'havinge masse

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66. J. Bossy, 'The Character of English Catholicism', Past and Present, 21 (1962), 39-59

67. The 6th Earl was the first member of his family since the Reformation to have adopted catholicism (Stone, 'The Manners Earls of Rutland 1460-1660', Family and Fortune, 195).

68. Described by Elizabeth I as one who had 'reconciled what she thought inconsistent, a stiff papist to a good subject', the 4th Earl of Worcester may have outwardly conformed, but most of his children, including his son and heir, were zealous and professing catholics (Robinson, 'The Earls of Worcester and their Estates', 104, 137). The 4th Earl's daughter, Katherine, was married to Byrd's catholic patron, Sir John Petre of Ingatestone Hall.

69. The Countess of Shrewsbury 'boldly and openly' maintained popery (Lambeth PL MS 3202 f. 342). Her husband, Gilbert Talbot, was suspected of catholicism, but there is no conclusive proof that he was a papist. Contrary to the view expressed by Philipps, Lady Shrewsbury's mother, Elizabeth, Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury, was not a catholic ('John Wilbye's Other Patrons', 87). The decoration of the low chapel at Hardwick Hall -- 'a Crucefixe of imbrodered worke, too pictures of our ladie the Virgin Marie and the three Kinges, the salutation of the Virgin Marie by the Angle' -- was entirely in keeping with the doctrinal sensibility of early Jacobean Arminians avant la lettre (Boynton, The Hardwick Hall Inventories, 30; Tyacke, Anti-Calvinists, 4).

saide' in her husband's house.[70] Sixteen years later, Prince Henry instructed Sir John Holles to search Rufford Abbey, but he found only 'sum crucifixes and ould papistical books' including three or four mass texts. The countess appears to have been warned and moved suspicious objects either to Sheffield Castle or to her brother's house.[71]

No direct evidence survives of the liturgy being sung during the surreptitious celebration of mass at Rufford Abbey or in the other Catholic households mentioned above, though two printed collections of sacred latin works by William Byrd were dedicated to the 4th Earl of Worcester and the Earl of Northampton respectively, Cantiones sacrae-Liber primus sacrarum quinque vocum (1589) and Gradualia, Book I (1605).[72]

Northampton was described by his contemporaries as the 'most permanent representative [of]...courtly catholicism'; but the earl's religious persuasion was not the only reason he was chosen as dedicatee.[73] Byrd paid tribute to the fact that Northampton had 'often listened with pleasure to [his] melodies' and readily acknowledged that the earl had been 'a benevolent patron in the distressed affairs' of his family. Furthermore, Northampton among others had persuaded James I to raise the stipend of the gentlemen of the Chapel Royal of whom Byrd was one, the first increase since the reign of Edward III.[74]

It is striking that in post-Reformation England Byrd was able to publish the Gradualia for liturgical use in Catholic households. The collection may have been sung in Northampton's private chapel. Book I,

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70. Lambeth PL MS 3200 f. 212; HMC Portland, IX, 47. Possession of catholic prayer books was not a punishable offence until 1606 (J.L. Jackman, 'Liturgical aspects of Byrd's Gradualia', MQ, 49 (1963), 17-37, see esp. p. 33).

71. Sir Charles Cavendish I was listed among notorious papists and dangerous recusants living in Shrewsbury's household. Both of his wives (Lady Margaret Kytson and Lady Catherine Ogle) were catholics (M.A.E. Green (ed.), CSPD 1591-94 (1867), 174).

72. Gradualia, Book II (1607) was dedicated to Worcester's son-in-law, Sir John Petre.

73. L.L. Peck, Northampton: Patronage and Policy at the Court of James I (1982), 9

74. O. Strunk, 'The Renaissance', Source Readings in Music History (1965), 138

the structure of which is less cohesive than Book II, contains settings of the main mass and office texts for the feasts of the Virgin Mary throughout the year in addition to fifteen miscellaneous motets for the enjoyment of 'true lovers of music'.[75]

Byrd conventionally defended the publication of his Cantiones sacrae because 'certain songs of mine had through the carelessness of scribes in making the copies suffered some impairment'.[76] In contrast to Gradualia, the 1589 and 1591 collections of five-part motets, derived mostly from non-liturgical texts, was designed primarily for devotional recreation.[77]

## III. EXTRAORDINARY SERVICES

In addition to the daily routine of religious observance the nobility attended extraordinary services including public and private christenings, marriages and burials involving family members, local gentry and resident servants.[78] Some of these offices were celebrated within the household chapel. For instance, on 3 July 1634 Lady Elizabeth Clifford's marriage to Richard Viscount Dungarvan was solemnised in the chapel of St John the Baptist at Skipton Castle, a stone's throw from the local parish church.[79] As with the common

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75. The structure of both collections is discussed in Jackman, 'Liturgical aspects of Byrd's Gradualia', 17-37. For a list of contents see Kerman, The Masses and Motets of William Byrd, 220-22. See also P. le Huray, 'Some thoughts about cantus firmus compositions; and a plea for Byrd's Christus resurgens', Byrd Studies, eds A. Brown and R. Turbet (Cambridge, 1992), 1-23

76. Kerman, ibid., 124

77. Jackman, op. cit., 17; Kerman, The Masses and Motets of William Byrd, 46. It was not unusual for Catholic music prints to be acquired by protestant patrons as didactic material for students of the viol. For instance, in April 1599 Sir William Cavendish purchased a copy of Tallis and Byrd's Cantiones sacrae (1575), a collection of Latin motets in five and eight parts, for his son and the amateur consort at Hardwick to perform (Hardwick MSS 10A and 23). Marenzio's Madrigali spirituali a 5 voci...libro primo (1584 or 1588) may have been purchased for the same reason (Appendix V/V entry dated September 1604). See also T. Crawford, 'Constantijn Huygens and the Engelsche viool', Chelys, 18 (1989), 41-60, see esp. p. 44

78. Mertes, The English Noble Household, 154-56

79. Bolton MSS book 172 flyleaf

prayers, the extent to which music played a part depended not only on the doctrinal and aesthetic sensibilities of the patron but also on the location in which extraordinary services were conducted. For example, at the christening of Sir Arthur Ingram's son in York Minster on 7 July 1618 the 4th Earl of Cumberland, a patron of the choral foundation, rewarded the choir and organist, Thomas Kingston, for their pains during divine service.[80] The Earl of Middlesex paid 20s to the choir which sang at the wedding of his daughter, Frances, and Richard Lord Buckhurst in 1637.[81]

The burial of peers and their dependants required that the ceremony of state commensurate with their rank be observed. However, by the early seventeenth century the ceremony which traditionally accompanied the aristocratic funeral had declined considerably, partly under the influence of more extreme protestants who viewed the ritual as pagan rather than Christian, and partly because of the heir's attempts to reduce the financial burden which such a funeral necessarily inflicted upon the family inheritance at a time of growing inflation. The 2nd Earl of Dorset, for instance, requested that he be interred[82]

> ...without any blackes or greate solemnitie of funerall but in a Christian manner as other persons are of meaner sort, because the usuall solemnities of funeralls such as heraldes sett doune for noble men are only good for the heraldes and drapers and very prejudiciall to the children, servauntes and friendes of

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80. Bolton MSS book 98 f. 210v. The order of public baptism was interpolated into the morning or evening prayer, immediately after the last lesson.

81. KAO U269/A462/6. The accounts do not specify the contribution which the choir made. The marriage service in the book of common prayer included only one place for the provision of music, the prescribed psalm sung after the couple were joined together in holy matrimony, either no. 128 ('Beati omnes') or no. 67 ('Deus misereatur'), both of which were set as anthem texts (Morehen, 'The English Anthem Text', 65). The accounts for Lady Clifford's marriage contain several payments to musicians. The prospective bridegroom visited Skipton shortly before Easter 1636, and between 24 March and 15 April the waits of Stamford provided musical entertainment (Chatsworth, Lismore papers vol. 17 no. 202; Bolton MSS book 85). Approximately five weeks later this company returned to Skipton where it remained for a further nine weeks during the matrimonial festivities. The Stamford waits were joined by a band of French musicians and a singer hired for the wedding itself on 3 July (Bolton MSS book 172 f. 78). However, it has not been possible to verify if music formed part of the marriage ceremony.

82. PRO PROB 11/113/23

> the deceassed and to the poore which inhabit there about, towards all which the deceassed might otherwise be much more liberall.

From the mid-1610s bodies were increasingly buried at night by torchlight thus dispensing with the need for elaborate display, though members of the old nobility were reluctant to forego the ceremony which had characterised the burials of their forebears. The 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, for example, insisted that his funeral 'be performed in such sort as befitts my rank and calling'.[83] Several hundred mourners dressed in black at the family's expense, including 128 'pore men in gownes', family servants, chief mourners and their retinues, walked in the procession from the Talbot estate to Sheffield parish church.[84]

Music was often an adjunct to the funeral of state. In 1572, for instance, the 3rd Earl of Derby's cortege included a choir of forty.[85] Among the mourners for the 7th Earl of Shrewsbury were 'vi Trumpetts' and 'Musick & singinge men', the latter presumably singing during the burial service at Sheffield church.[86] The Manners family, whose noble lineage dated back to the Medieval period, gave £20 to 'the quoresterrs of Southwell [Minster] and others that did servyce' during the funeral of the 5th Earl of Rutland in July 1612 at Bottesford parish church near Belvoir castle where several members of the family were interred. The same choral foundation provided three singing men (Edmound Elliott, Thomas Reay and William Bates) over twenty years later to conduct the burial service of the 6th Earl, for which they received the

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83. PRO PROB 11/127/51. As soon as the College of Arms was notified of a peer's death one of the heralds travelled to the family's principal residence in order to make the funeral arrangements which because of the ceremony involved frequently took several weeks. For instance, the 1595 funeral of the 3rd Earl of Huntingdon did not occur until eighteen weeks after his death (Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 573).

84. Ibl Harl. MS 1368 pp. 35-39; Mertes, The English Noble Household, 156

85. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 573

86. The parish church maintained an organ until at least 1620 (Temperley, The Music of the English Parish Church, I, 51). According to the Elizabethan prayer book, the choir sang at three points during the Anglican burial service: when the corpse was met at the entrance to the churchyard by the priest and the clerks going before it either into the church or towards the grave, after the lesson while the body was made ready to be laid into earth, and after earth was cast upon the body.

considerable sum of £27.[87]

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The extent to which music formed part of the daily household rite depended as much on the patron's taste as on his doctrinal belief. The Elizabethan settlement allowed for considerable flexibility of interpretation regarding the style of music appropriate to divine worship thus accommodating most strands of English protestantism in the century following the Henrician Reformation. The musical enhancement of the liturgy promoted by the Laudian church exerted only limited influence on Caroline private music. Within the confines of household worship, godly patrons like Whitelocke and Strange indulged their love of anthems and services in cathedral style with no less vigour than the Arminian Hatton.

The accompaniment of the Anglican liturgy with music performed in cathedral style did not, however, mean that lay households retained professional chapel choirs. Such choirs died out during the course of the sixteenth century, and by 1590 none remained. Instead, singers were generally drawn from the ranks of household officers and professional musicians whose principal duty was to provide recreational music. Several factors contributed to the demise of the professional chapel choir. From the mid-sixteenth century onwards more extreme protestants elevated the significance of the Word, condemning noblemen who 'have not spared to spend much riches in nourishing many idle singing-men to bleat in their chapels, thinking so to do God an high sacrifice...' at the expense of finding 'a learned man in their houses to preach the word of God, to haste them to virtue and to dissuade them from vice.'[88] Furthermore, the emphasis placed on congregational psalm-singing coupled with the increase in musical literacy meant that several household communities with a body of competent musicians were able to perform monophonic or simple four-part settings of the Anglican liturgy

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87. The funeral of Francis Lord Ros, heir to the 6th Earl, took place in Westminster Abbey on 7 March 1619/20, on which occasion £3 10s was paid to the organist, singing men and choristers (HMC Rutland, IV, 479, 528, 519).

88. Ayre, J. (ed.), The Catechism of Thomas Becon with other pieces written by him in the reign of King Edward VI (Cambridge, 1844, Parker Society), 429 (The Jewel of Joy, 1553)

such as those printed in the various editions of the Sternhold and Hopkins metrical psalter. The diminished role and doctrinal function of the chapel choir probably encouraged the nobility to transfer their ecclesiastical patronage to causes which reflected better upon their munificence. Inevitably, lay households were not a major source of innovation or composition in the field of sacred music during the period.

# CHAPTER NINE

## CONCLUSION

During the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods music flowered in England on a scale and with a quality rarely equalled before or after. It would be self-gratifying to conclude that aristocratic patronage provides the key to why this should have occurred, but this would be a facile view. Periods which produced what with hindsight we call 'great music' did so probably as a result of the happy conjunction of individual skill, patronage and the discovery of a rich seam of musical language.

This study has confined itself to the examination of just one of these three elements and only to the years c. 1590 to 1640. The evidence adduced is therefore insufficient to assess the relative contribution of each element, to compare the features of this period with other periods in English musical history, or to say whether aristocratic patronage was more significant than royal, ecclesiastical, civic or gentry patronage. In all probability, the strength of cultural interest lay in its scale and broad distribution. Aristocratic patronage was therefore just one level, albeit a very important one, on a pyramid which extended throughout English society. Moreover, the language of music adopted by the various social orders was clearly defined, generally accepted and well integrated; there were no stylistic gulfs to be crossed on the way up the pyramid even if styles became more refined at the higher levels. Thus, musicians were provided with a range of opportunities and a ladder of advancement through a professional career in music.

This study brings together the evidence to demonstrate that aristocratic patronage provided a fertile environment for the development of English music during the fifty years prior to the Civil War. The purpose of this conclusion is to highlight the key themes common to the preceding chapters and to point the way for further study. These conclusions must, however, be placed in the context of the limitations of the methodology used and the evidence currently available. The study covers only fifty-one out of a potential 127 earls, selected largely on the basis of the wealth of material available in the extant records. The results are further distorted by

the hazard of evidence surviving and the assumption that such records are representative of what occurred. Finally, the volume of primary and secondary material relating to music and to the social and artistic context in which it must be interpreted is greater than I have been able to cover in the last ten years. Happily, there is much work still to do.

## I. MOTIVATION

Ceremony was central to the mechanism by which the aristocracy identified themselves as a distinct and higher social group from the rest of English society. Music served to reinforce the system of values practised by the older nobility and the parvenu equally. But it would be wrong to suggest that the ceremonial ritual which characterised their rank could not be maintained without music. For instance, R.B. recommended that heraldic and recreational musicians perform during commensality and a trumpeter warn of the earl's arrival on progress. He also recognised that certain aspects of heraldic music had declined by the late sixteenth century; the use of wind instruments, for example, was generally restricted to major occasions of state. However, he has little to say on the subject of recreational music. Stringed and mixed consorts generally accompanied meals and though their repertoire varied stylistically over the period, there is little evidence to suggest that the quantity of music performed changed significantly.

As an adjunct of ceremony music satisfied the general expectation that the nobility should be adorned with magnificence, thus reinforcing their local influence and demonstrating their affinity with the crown. This expectation was fulfilled not only through the number and skill of the household musicians employed but also by the range and quality of instruments and other resources applied to the performance of music. Beyond the confines of the household the earl's status could be enhanced by the patronage of nominal retainers travelling the country and by musical dedications received, a testimony to the nobleman's taste and liberality towards an art which defied the boundaries of time and space.

The obligation placed upon the nobility to demonstrate their status through patronage encouraged them to foster local talent by the

employment of provincial musicians and instrument makers and by the training of apprentices drawn from towns and villages close to the earl's estates. This obligation extended to the protection of servants and retainers from the rigours of the law, a crucial role given the narrow margin which separated travelling musicians from vagabonds, and to the protection of composers who might otherwise have faced the censure of a critical public without the patronage of a prominent dedicatee.

Music had a distinctive role to play in the exchange of favours between patrons and clients. Its suitability as a currency of obligation lay in the variety of forms it could take (the contract of service between master and musician, gifts of instruments and musicians, dedications of compositions and the presentation of performances), as well as its non-monetary status and special appeal to some patrons. However, this role was not unique; we misunderstand the nature of artistic patronage at this time if we place music outside the boundaries of everyday social and political interchange.

No doubt an important motivation to the patronage of music was the entertainment and pleasure which it could bring to the earl and his family and household. For instance, Dorset justified the scale of his patronage on the grounds that his musicians gave him 'much recreation and contentation with theire delightefull harmonye'.[1] Salisbury expressed comparable sentiments, though neither earl specified the musical genres which he particularly enjoyed. Some noblemen appear to have found little pleasure in music and patronised the other arts instead; however, the evidence for this negative view is based primarily on the absence of extensive musical patronage rather than on any specific censure.

Courtly manuals and other contemporary treatises addressed the role of music in relation to its contribution to the education of the nobility and their endowment with appropriate social accomplishments. Musical education equipped the courtier for service to the state through the ethical and social values it fostered. Harmony and form were seen as directly comparable in musical and social terms. The courtier was advised against developing performing skills to such a high degree that he supplanted the professional musician; to do so

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1. PRO PROB 11/113/1

would be to transgress the proper social order. Disparaging remarks about music such as those made by Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland, reflect the importance placed on limiting practical ability and the not infrequent association of music and dance with other forms of dissipation, being 'but lost labour...qualities neither profitable to themselves, nor anything else.'[2] There is little evidence that these attitudes changed significantly during the period.

Scientific enquiry was taken up by the nobility during the closing years of Elizabeth's reign. Their interest encompassed acoustical theory and experiment as well as the study of classical sources, an intellectual approach associated with the seventeenth-century concept of the virtuoso. Bacon and Salisbury's patronage, for instance, promoted the development of sympathetic stringing while the Earl of Newcastle's circle was exceptional in the range of its enquiries.

Finally, the nobility were encouraged in their patronage of music by the example of foreign courts and cultures. Though continental musical styles were absorbed during Elizabeth's reign, the peace with Spain in 1604 allowed greater freedom of travel in Europe and removed any barriers to the widespread adoption of such styles. A number of earls sent their offspring to the French academies or on tour throughout Europe in the company of a tutor. Under the early Stuarts a cosmopolitan musical establishment became a matter of distinction though it was also a butt of criticism from those who feared for the loss of indigenous musical traditions.

## II. MEANS

The expenditure on musical patronage was relatively insignificant in comparison with other forms of artistic patronage or the general expenses of a nobleman and his household. Cost is unlikely therefore to have been an important factor in the level of musical patronage dispensed by the nobility. Apprentices were almost certainly a cause of greater trouble than they were of expense and it is notable that the canny or powerful patron such as Salisbury preferred to recruit his singing boys at an advanced stage in their apprenticeship. The salaries paid to adult musicians show a broad range between the highest (£26 13s

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2. Quoted in Price, Patrons and Musicians, 8

4d) and the lowest (£2) in the households examined. The framework for the employment of household musicians was well established by the late Elizabethan period. Adults and apprentices were bound to their patrons by a contract of service, the conditions of which had been codified in the 1563 statute of artificers, setting down the respective roles of master and servant. This contract was reinforced by the household ordinances, the ancestry of which dated back to the Medieval period. The majority of musicians were treated in the same manner as other resident servants and were therefore not a significant burden to the management of the noble household. Only in exceptional cases was the cost of instruments or music particularly great, and then the price was a function of the decoration of the article rather than its basic form. The rank of musicians within the household was generally among the lowest of those officers who served above stairs, comparable with the groom of the chamber. However, the architectural layout of the noble house and the ceremonial function to which public and private chambers were put meant that in the course of recreational entertainment musicians enjoyed a greater degree of intimacy with their patron and his family than other servants of comparable status. This and their skill perhaps explains why their remuneration was generally higher than other household servants. Nevertheless, these payments were small by the standards of other expenditure. For instance, the generally indigent Henry Lord Clifford paid £154 4s 9d for a 'rich suite of taber laced thick with gold and silver lace' to wear on the 1633 Scottish royal progress while the Earl of Newcastle spent nearly £15,000 on entertaining Charles I and Henrietta Maria a year later.[3]

The establishment of a London season by the end of the sixteenth century brought the nobility to the court and the capital where they came into contact with some of the best English musical talent and with alien musicians who had emigrated to this country. The creation of the satellite courts presided over by various members of the Stuart royal family increased the range of opportunities for court musicians after 1603. The nature of royal patronage meant that court servants could pursue part of their careers outside the royal household in the service of noblemen, many of whom maintained houses in close proximity to the royal palaces. Furthermore, through their ecclesiastical

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3. Bolton MSS book 169

patronage, the nobility also had access to singers and organists employed in major choral foundations. Thus, they could enjoy the talents of these musicians on a part-time basis in their own households where they performed recreational and liturgical music, composed works at the patron's request and provided training for the earl's apprentices and family.

During the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods the nobility were active musical patrons on their provincial estates as well as in the capital, functioning as conduits for the dissemination of the musical innovations of the court. In addition, the wide circulation of books and manuscripts from home and abroad coupled with the social networks built up by the ruling elite ensured that the latest developments reached noblemen who rarely frequented the court. Thus musical innovations associated with the households of Queen Anne and her sons, Henry and Charles, were quickly taken up by the nobility at large. Finally, musicians in noble employment were often involved in court entertainments where they came into contact with royal servants who were among the leading exponents of the lyra style, the fantasia, mixed consorts for viols and violins and the masque, and subsequently experimented with many of these developments in private service.

## III. PERSONAL TASTE

The overlap of private and public interests among the nobility was taken for granted by English society and it is therefore often difficult to distinguish between these motivations in musical taste.[4] Furthermore, the limited survival of documentary evidence has coloured our interpretation of the subject. For instance, insufficient detail survives in household accounts to identify a nobleman's preference for an individual composer or for particular genres. Library catalogues are an unreliable guide in that they generally record only scientific or philosophical works rather than performing music. Similarly, inventories are often unrepresentative of the range of instruments which the patron provided for or were held in the custody of his musicians.

In general, the English nobility were reticent about explaining

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4. Elias, Court Society, 1

their taste in music. Salisbury, for example, justified his patronage in vague terms, the 'love of musique, which pleaseth myne eare'.[5] Nevertheless, certain manifestations of personal taste can be identified. The fact that music was widely and quickly disseminated during the years c. 1590-1640 meant that the patron had access to the latest developments from home and abroad. The decision not to follow a particular fashion was therefore at his discretion rather than dictated by external forces such as inaccessibility or prohibitive cost. Because of his rank, the earl could hire almost any musician whom he chose. He was therefore in a position to gather together a band of singers and instrumentalists whose talents met with his particular taste. For example, the large number of lutenists in the household of William Baron Cavendish not only reflect Thomas Cutting's knowledge of Italianate mixed consorts acquired during his service at Prince Henry's court but also the nobleman's desire to listen to such music. However, some caution is required before attributing particular works entirely to the discernment of the patron. Cavendish's almost wholesale purchase of printed music books may be indicative of his supplier's marketing skills as much as of his own preference.

The range of instruments owned by the patron is also an indication of his taste in music. Certain instruments were rejected by a large proportion of the nobility, most notably the violin which, prior to the Civil War, was considered inappropriate for the gentleman amateur to play. Some earls were in the vanguard of new developments in music. Their patronage of composers experimenting with the solo lyra style, the fantasia and art music scored for solo harp or in combination with other instruments can reasonably be interpreted as expressions of an interest in these innovations.

Personal taste in liturgical music is more difficult to define than in secular music. This is due primarily to the paucity of evidence. In addition, a high percentage of settings of sacred and spiritual texts which survive in domestic anthologies were performed as devotional recreation. Furthermore, there is only limited corollary between a patron's doctrinal position, so far as it can be identified, and his taste in music. Self-avowed protestants and Roman Catholics could manifest similar tastes in the settings of the liturgy.

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5. Lbl Lansdowne MS 90 f. 143

## IV. AFTER 1640

The pattern of musical activity established over the previous fifty years continued with surprising vigour during the Civil War and Interregnum. While some patrons and musicians transferred their attention to more warlike activities during the 1640s, others preferred, in Roger North's words, 'to fidle at home, than to goe out, and be knockt on the head abroad.'[6] In 1654 Oliver Cromwell established his own band of musicians led by John Hingeston, formerly household organist to the earls of Cumberland.[7] However, the pyramid of patronage was irretrievably distorted by the disbandment of the court following the outbreak of Civil War and the polarisation of political, social and religious forces.

English music did not recover though some patrons tried to recapture the spirit of a golden age and individual musical lights did shine brilliantly for a time. Between 1648 and 1660 Newcastle established his household in Antwerp where Nicholas Lanier set to music some of his literary compositions for the entertainment of the court in exile. But these could not rival the display of power and patronage embodied at Bolsover. The Derbyshire castle was partly destroyed during the Interregnum and, though Newcastle restored much of the fabric after his return from exile, it never again functioned as a prodigy house embodying the metaphysical union of power, right and beauty.[8]

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6. J. Wilson (ed.), Roger North on Music (1959), 294

7. Hulse, 'John Hingeston', 28-30

8. Faulkner, Bolsover Castle, 17-20

## APPENDIX 1

### List of Patrons

| Earldom (date)[1] | |
|---|---|
| Bath (1536) | William Bourchier (1557-1623)<br>3rd Earl (Feb. 1561 - July 1623) |
| | Henry Bourchier (c. 1587-1654)<br>kntd (Nov. 1621)<br>5th Earl (Mar. 1637 - Aug. 1654) |
| Bridgewater (1617) | John Egerton (1579-1649)<br>kntd (Apr. 1599)<br>KB (July 1603)<br>Viscount Brackley (Mar. 1617)<br>1st Earl (May 1617 - Dec. 1649) |
| Buckingham (1617) | George Villiers (1592-1628)<br>kntd (Apr. 1615)<br>KG (1616)<br>Baron Whaddon of Whaddon, Bucks. and Viscount Villiers (Aug. 1616)<br>Earl (Jan. 1617)<br>Marquess (Jan. 1618)<br>Duke of Buckingham and Earl of Coventry (May 1623 - Aug. 1628) |
| Clare (1624) | John Holles (1564-1637)<br>kntd (Oct. 1593)<br>Baron Houghton of Houghton, Notts. (July 1616)<br>1st Earl (Nov. 1624 - Oct. 1637) |
| | John Holles (1595-1666)<br>Lord Houghton (Nov. 1624)<br>kntd (June 1625)<br>2nd Earl (Oct. 1637 - Jan. 1666) |
| Cumberland (1525) | George Clifford (1558-1605)<br>3rd Earl (Jan. 1570 - Oct. 1605)<br>kntd (1588)<br>KG (1592) |
| | Francis Clifford (1559-1641)<br>KB (Jan. 1605)<br>4th Earl (Oct. 1605 - Jan. 1641) |

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1. Information taken from Cokayne, The Complete Peerage. KB: Knight of the Bath; KG: Knight of the Garter

Earldom contd./

| | |
|---|---|
| Cumberland | Henry Clifford (1592-1643)<br>KB (June 1610)<br>Lord Clifford (Feb. 1628)[2]<br>5th Earl (Jan. 1641 - Dec. 1643) |
| Derby (1485) | Henry Stanley (1531-1593)<br>Lord Strange (1531-1559)<br>KB (Feb. 1547)<br>Lord Strange of Knokin (Jan. 1559 - Feb. 1576)[3]<br>4th Earl (Dec. 1572 - Sept. 1593)<br>KG (1574) |
| | Ferdinando Stanley (c. 1559-1594)<br>Lord Strange (Dec. 1572)<br>5th Earl (Sept. 1593 - Apr. 1594) |
| | William Stanley (1561-1642)<br>6th Earl (Apr. 1594 - Sept. 1642)<br>KG (1601) |
| | James Stanley (1607-1651)<br>KB Feb. 1626<br>Lord Strange (Mar. 1628)[4]<br>7th Earl (Sept. 1642 - Oct. 1651)<br>KG (1650)[5] |
| Devonshire (1618) | William Cavendish (1551-1626)<br>kntd (1580)<br>Baron Cavendish of Hardwick (May 1605)<br>1st Earl (Aug. 1618 - Mar. 1626) |
| | William Cavendish (1590-1628)<br>kntd (Mar. 1609)<br>Lord Cavendish (Aug. 1618)<br>2nd Earl (Mar. 1626 - June 1628) |
| | William Cavendish (1617-1684)<br>Lord Cavendish (Mar. 1626)<br>3rd Earl (June 1628 - Nov. 1684) |

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2. Under the erroneous assumption that the barony of Clifford (1299) was vested in his father.

3. Summoned to parliament in his father's barony.

4. Under the erroneous assumption that the barony of Knokin (1299) was vested in his father.

5. Nominated but never installed.

**Earldom contd./**

| | |
|---|---|
| Dorset (1604) | Thomas Sackville (?-1608)<br>kntd and Baron Buckhurst of Buckhurst, Sussex (June 1567)<br>KG (1589)<br>1st Earl (Mar. 1604 - Apr. 1608) |
| | Robert Sackville (1561-1609)<br>Lord Buckhurst (Mar. 1604)<br>2nd Earl (Apr. 1608 - Feb. 1609) |
| | Richard Sackville (1589-1624)<br>Lord Buckhurst (Apr. 1608)<br>3rd Earl (Feb. 1609 - Mar. 1624) |
| Exeter (1605) | Thomas Cecil (1542-1623)<br>kntd (July 1575)<br>KG (1601)<br>Baron Burghley (Aug. 1598)<br>1st Earl (May 1605 - Feb. 1623) |
| | William Cecil (1566-1640)<br>kntd (Apr. 1603)<br>Lord Burghley (1605-1623)<br>2nd Earl (Feb. 1623 - July 1640)<br>KG 1630 |
| Hertford (1559) | Edward Seymour (1537-1621)<br>KB (Feb. 1547)<br>Earl (styled 1547-1552; Jan. 1559 - Apr. 1621)<br>Baron Beauchamp (Jan. 1559) |
| | William Seymour (1588-1660)<br>Lord Beauchamp (Sept. 1618)<br>Earl (Apr. 1621)<br>Marquess (June 1641)<br>Duke of Somerset and Baron Seymour (Sept. 1660) |
| Huntingdon (1529) | Henry Hastings (c. 1536-1595)<br>Lord Hastings (1544)<br>KB (Feb. 1547)<br>3rd Earl (June 1560 - Dec. 1595)<br>KG (1570) |
| | Henry Hastings (1586-1643)<br>Lord Hastings (1595)<br>5th Earl (Dec. 1604 - Nov. 1643) |
| Leicester (1618) | Robert Sidney (1563-1626)<br>kntd (Oct. 1586)<br>Baron Sidney of Penshurst (May 1603)<br>Viscount Lisle (May 1605)<br>1st Earl (Aug. 1618 - July 1626) |

Earldom contd./

| | |
|---|---|
| Leicester | Robert Sidney (1595-1677)<br>KB (June 1610)<br>Viscount Lisle (Aug. 1618)<br>2nd Earl (July 1626 - Nov. 1677) |
| Middlesex (1622) | Lionel Cranfield (1575-1645)<br>kntd (July 1613)<br>Baron Cranfield of Cranfield, Beds. (July 1621)<br>1st Earl (Sept. 1622 - Aug. 1645) |
| Montgomery (1605) | see Pembroke |
| Mulgrave (1626) | Edmund Sheffield (1565-1646)<br>Baron Sheffield (Dec. 1568)<br>kntd (July 1588)<br>KG (1593)<br>Earl (Feb. 1626 - Oct. 1646) |
| Newcastle (1628) | William Cavendish (1593-1676)<br>KB (June 1610)<br>Viscount Mansfield and Baron Ogle (Oct. 1620)<br>Earl of Newcastle and Baron Cavendish of Bolsover (Mar. 1628)<br>Marquess (Oct. 1643)<br>Duke of Newcastle and Earl of Ogle (Mar. 1665 - Dec. 1676) |
| Northampton (1604) | Henry Howard (1540-1614)<br>Earl of Northampton and Baron of Manshull, Dorset (Mar. 1604 - June 1614)<br>KG (1605) |
| Oxford (1142) | Edward de Vere (1550-1604)<br>Lord Bolbeck (1550)<br>17th Earl (Aug. 1562 - June 1604) |
| | Henry de Vere (1593-1625)<br>Viscount Bolbeck (1593)<br>18th Earl (June 1604 - June 1625)<br>KB (June 1610) |
| Pembroke (1551) | Henry Herbert (c. 1538-1601)<br>Lord Herbert (1551)<br>KB (Sept. 1553)<br>2nd Earl (Mar. 1570 - June 1601)<br>KG (1574) |
| | William Herbert (1580-1630)<br>Lord Herbert (1580)<br>3rd Earl (June 1601 - Apr. 1630)<br>KG (1603) |

Earldom contd./

| | |
|---|---|
| Pembroke | Philip Herbert (1584-1650)<br>KB (July 1603)<br>1st Earl of Montgomery and Baron Herbert of Shurland, Kent (May 1605)<br>KG (1608)<br>4th Earl of Pembroke (Apr. 1630 - Jan. 1650) |
| Rivers (1626) | Thomas Darcy (c. 1565-1640)<br>Baron Darcy of Chiche (Mar. 1581)<br>Viscount Colchester (July 1621)<br>Earl (Nov. 1626 - Feb. 1640) |
| Rutland (1525) | Roger Manners (1576-1612)<br>Lord Roos (1576)<br>5th Earl (Feb. 1588 - June 1612)<br>kntd (May 1599) |
| | Francis Manners (1578-1632)<br>KB (1605)<br>6th Earl (June 1612 - Dec. 1632)<br>KG (1616)<br>Lord Roos of Hamlake (July 1616)<br>Lord Ros (June 1618) |
| | George Manners (c. 1580-1641)<br>kntd (1599)<br>7th Earl (Dec. 1632 - Mar. 1641) |
| | John Manners (1604-1679)<br>8th Earl (Mar. 1641 - Sept. 1679) |
| Salisbury (1605) | Robert Cecil (1563-1612)<br>kntd (May 1591)<br>Baron Cecil of Essendon, Rutland (May 1603)<br>Viscount Cranborne, Dorset (Aug. 1604)<br>KB (Jan. 1605)<br>1st Earl (May 1605 - May 1612)<br>KG (1606) |
| | William Cecil (1591-1668)<br>KB (Jan. 1605)<br>Viscount Cranborne (May 1605)<br>2nd Earl (May 1612 - Dec. 1668)<br>KG (1625) |
| Shrewsbury (1442) | Gilbert Talbot (1552-1616)<br>Lord Talbot (1582)<br>7th Earl (Nov. 1590 - May 1616)[6]<br>KG (1592) |

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6. The earls of Shrewsbury also held the Irish peerage title, Earl of Waterford.

**Earldom contd./**

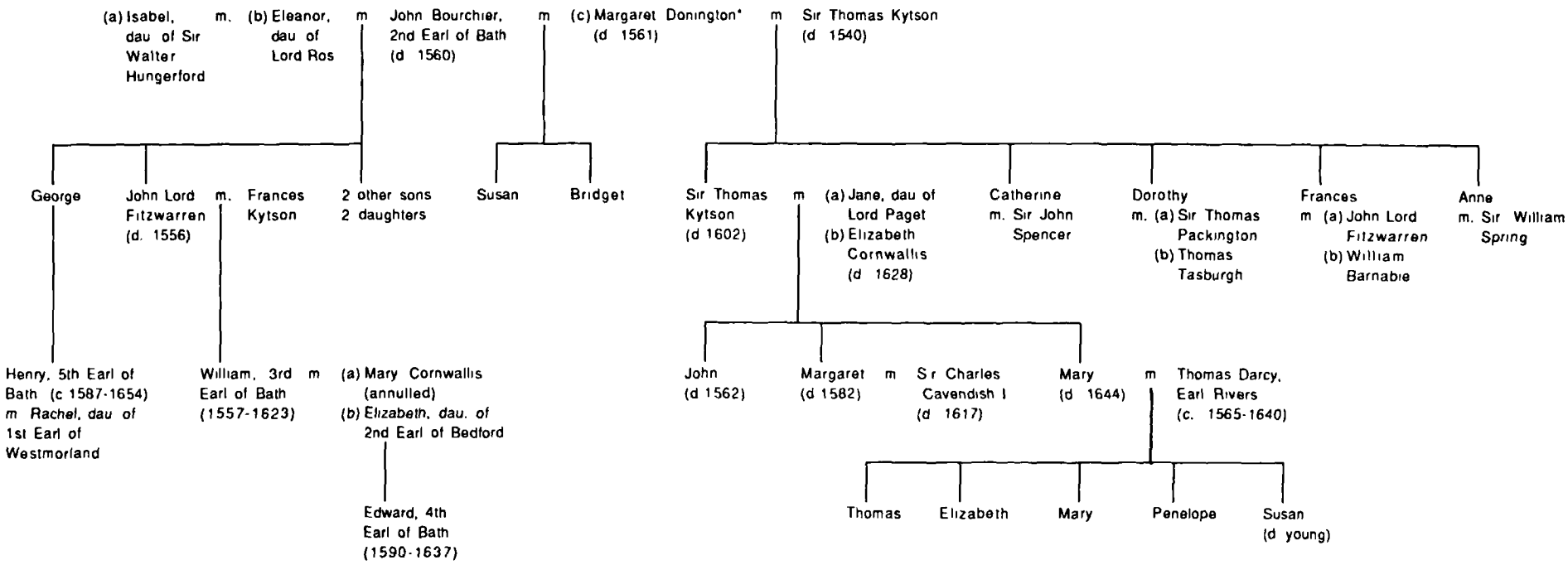
| | |
|---|---|
| Shrewsbury | Edward Talbot (1561-1618)<br>8th Earl (May 1616 - Feb. 1618) |
| Southampton (1547) | Henry Wriothesley (1573-1624)<br>Lord Wriothesley (1573)<br>3rd Earl (Oct. 1581 - Feb. 1601, May 1603 - Nov. 1624)<br>KG (1603)<br>Baron Wriothesley of Titchfield, Southants. (July 1603) |
| Suffolk (1603) | Thomas Howard (1561-1626)<br>KG (1597)<br>Lord Howard of Walden (Dec. 1597)<br>1st Earl (July 1603 - May 1626) |
| | Theophilus Howard (1584-1640)<br>Lord Walden (July 1603)<br>2nd Earl (May 1626 - June 1640)<br>KG (1628) |
| Westmorland (1624) | Francis Fane (1580-1629)<br>KB (July 1603)<br>1st Earl of Westmorland and Baron of Burghersh, Sussex (Dec. 1624 - Mar. 1629)<br>Lord Le Despencer (June 1626) |
| | Mildmay Fane (1602-1666)<br>Lord Burghersh (Dec. 1624)<br>KB (Feb. 1626)<br>Lord Le Despencer (1626)<br>2nd Earl (Mar. 1629 - Feb. 1666) |
| Worcester (1514) | Edward Somerset (c. 1550-1628)<br>Lord Herbert (c. 1550-1589)<br>4th Earl (Feb. 1589 - Mar. 1628)<br>KG (1593) |
| | Henry Somerset (c. 1576-1646)<br>Lord Herbert (1598-1604)<br>Baron Herbert (1604)<br>5th Earl (Mar. 1628)<br>Marquess (Mar. 1643 - Dec. 1646) |

## APPENDIX II

### Genealogical Tables

1. The Bourchiers, Earls of Bath and the Darcys, Earl Rivers
2. The Egertons, Earls of Bridgewater
3. The Cliffords, Earls of Cumberland
4. The Stanleys, Earls of Derby and the Hastings, Earls of Huntingdon
5. The Cavendishes, Earls of Devonshire and Newcastle
6. The Sidneys, Earls of Leicester
7. The Manners, Earls of Rutland
8. The Cecils, Earls of Salisbury and Exeter
9. The Talbots, Earls of Shrewsbury
10. The Fanes, Earls of Westmorland

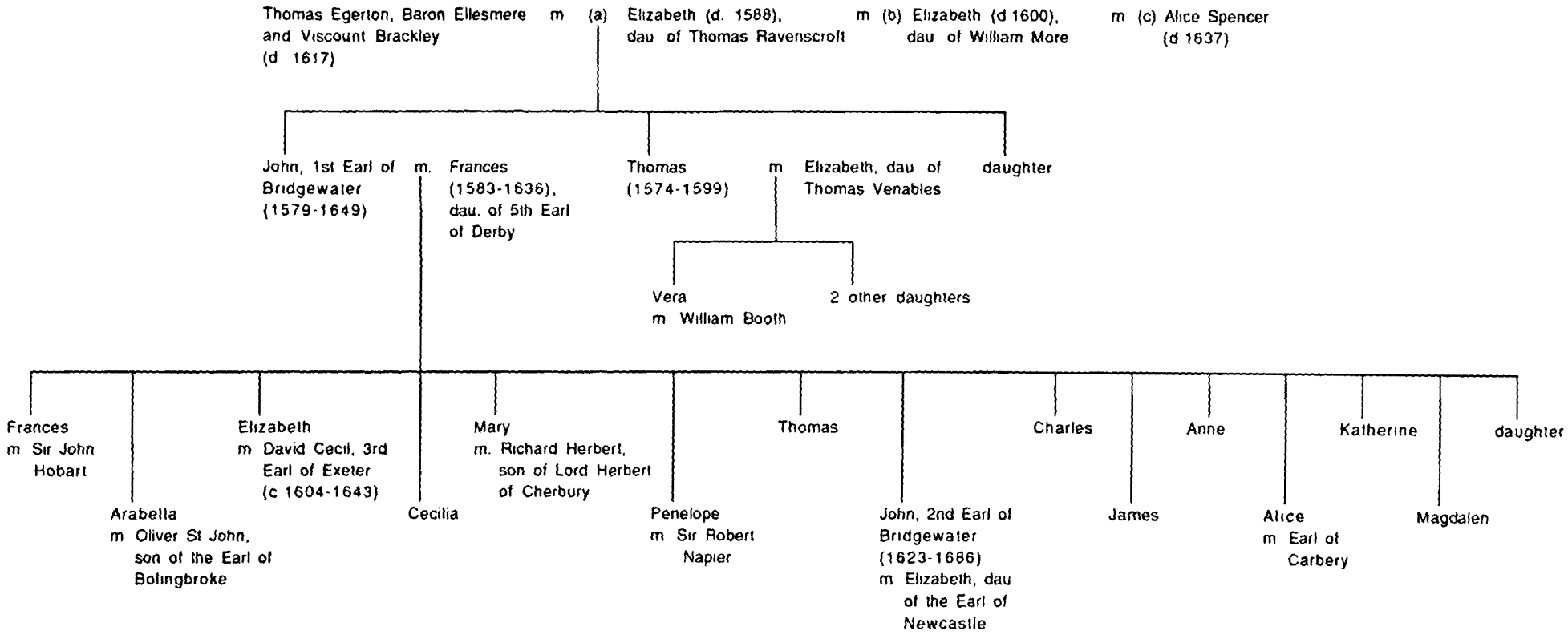
# 1. The Bourchiers, Earls of Bath and the Darcys, Earl Rivers




* Lady Margaret Kytson married as her second husband, Sir Richard Long (d 1546) by whom she had issue Sir Henry Long (d.1573), Jane, Catherine and Mary

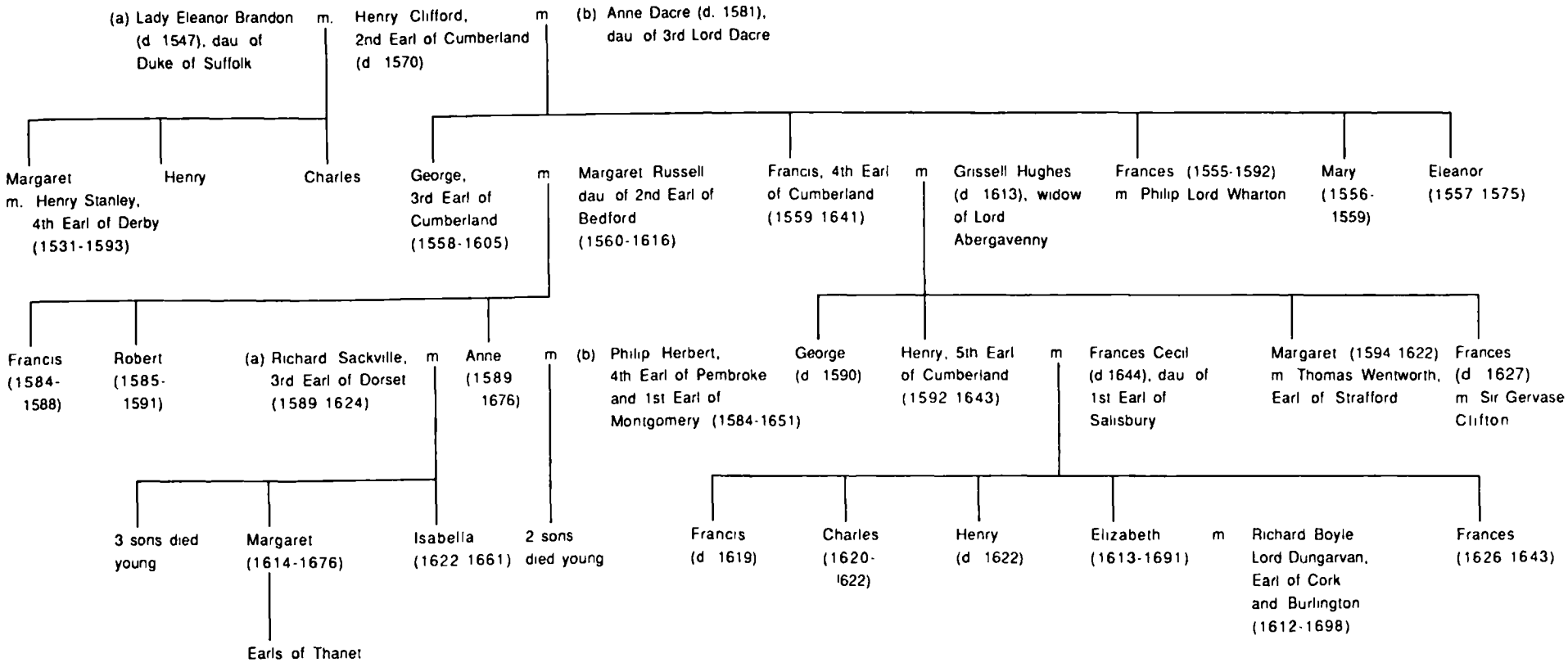
Information taken from Gage, The History and Antiquities of Hengrave in Suffolk and Lbl Harl MS 7390

## 2. The Egertons, Earls of Bridgewater



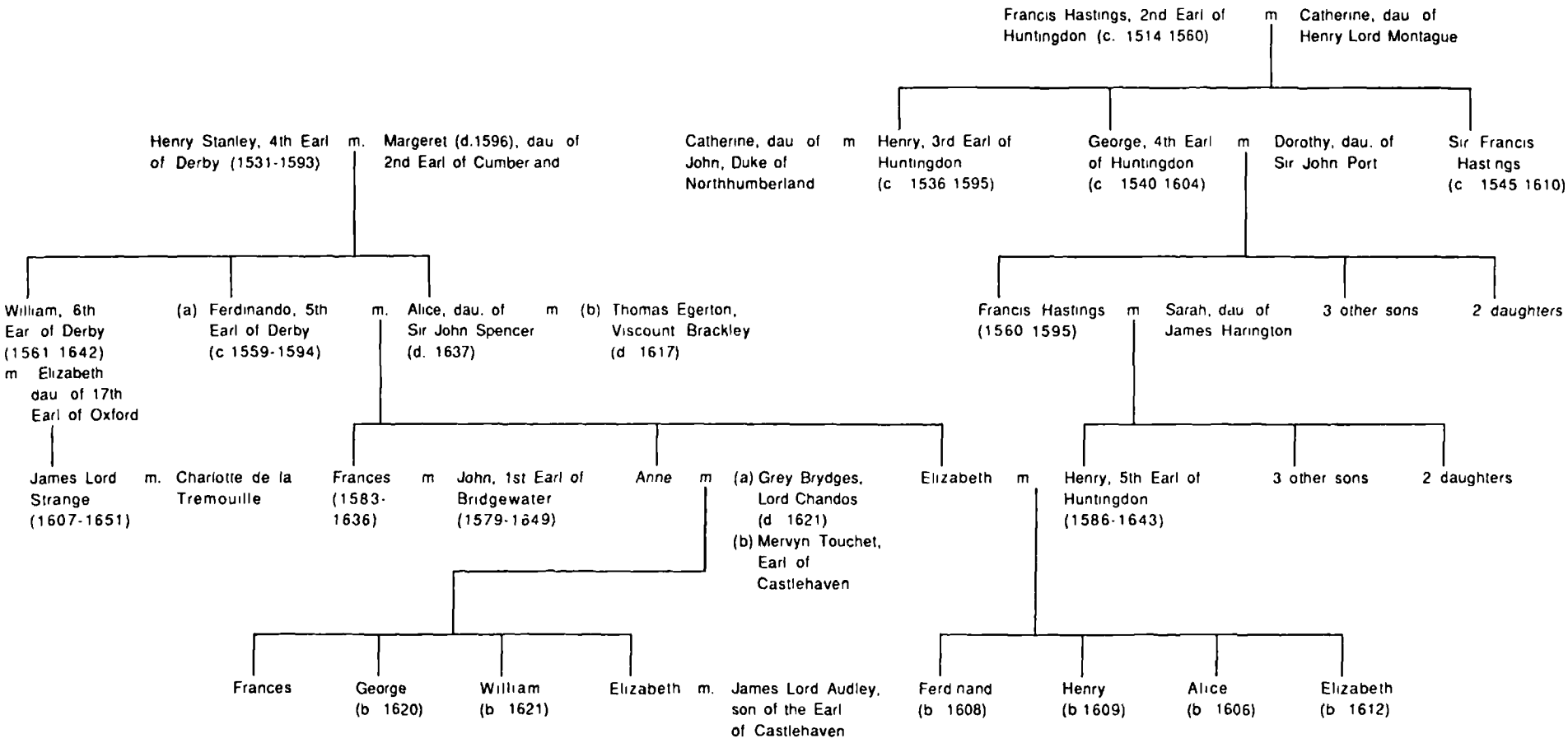

Information taken from Brown, John Milton's Aristocratic Entertainments and Hasler, 'The History of the House of Commons, 1558-1603', vol. II

# 3. The Cliffords, Earls of Cumberland



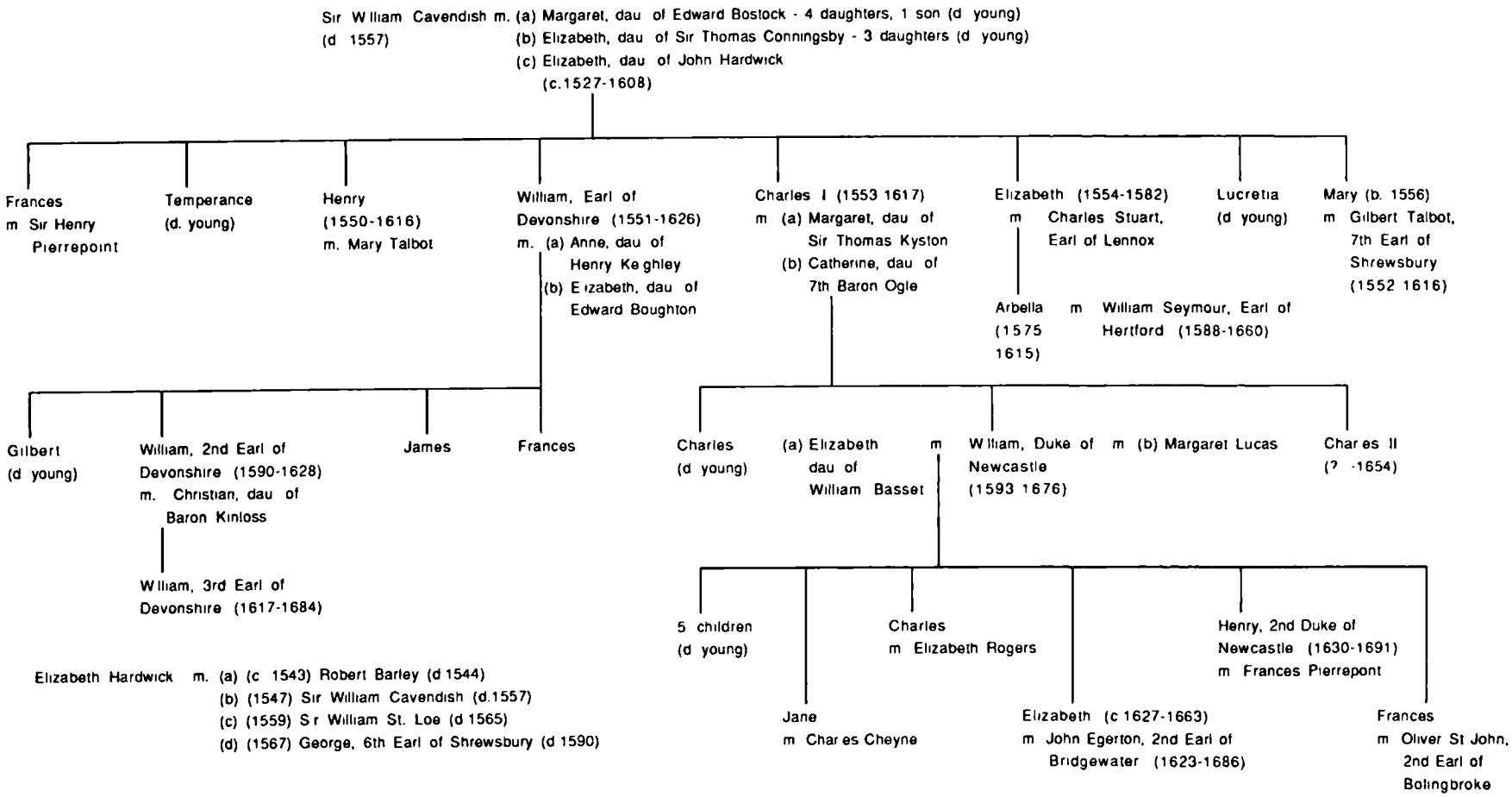

Information taken from Clay, 'The Clifford Family' and C fford, The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford

# 4. The Stanleys, Earls of Derby and the Hastings, Earls of Huntingdon



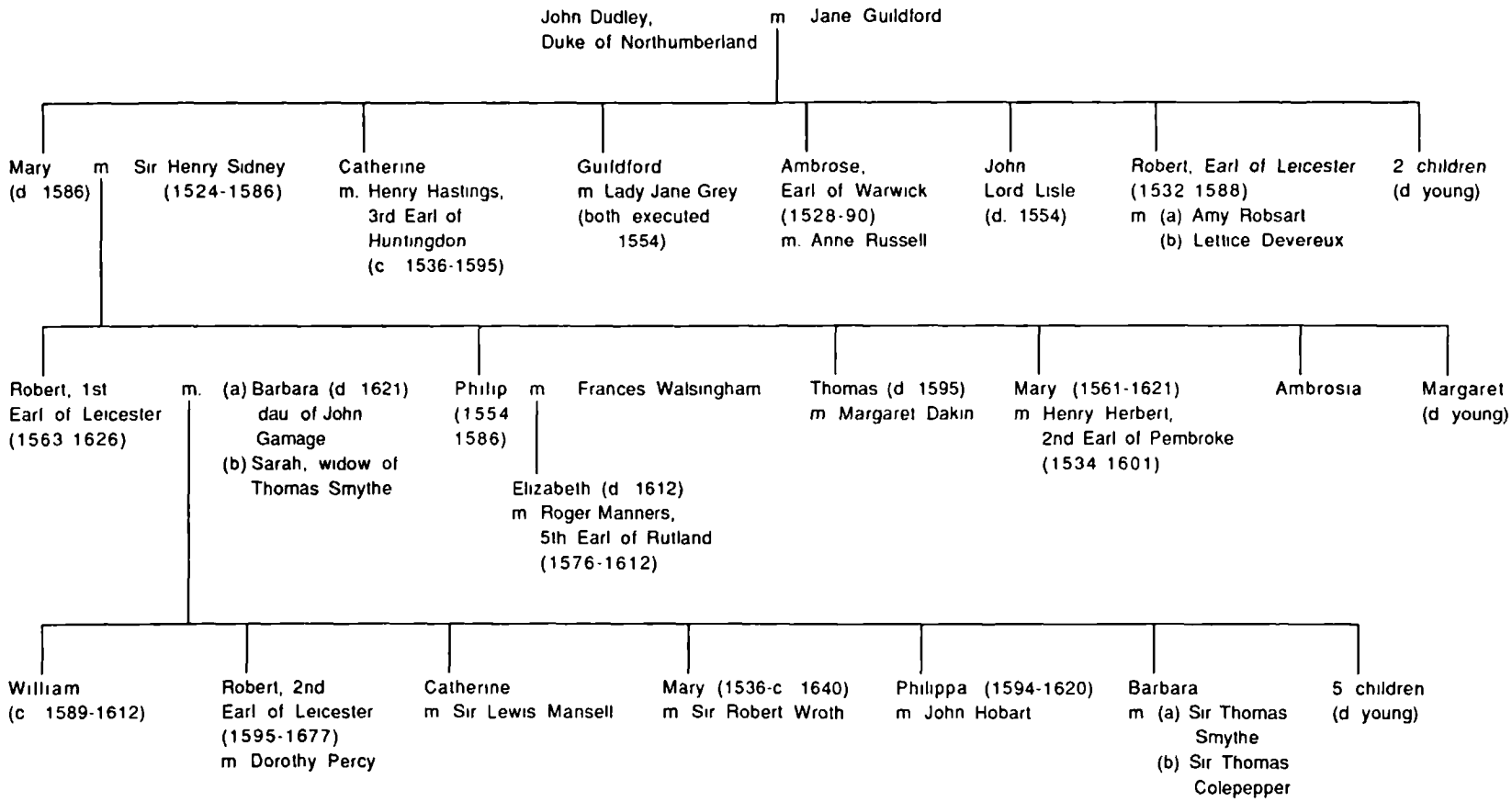

Information taken from Brown, John Milton's Aristocratic Entertainments and Hasler, 'The History of the House of Commons, 1558-1603', Vol. II

# 5. The Cavendishes, Earls of Devonshire and Newcastle



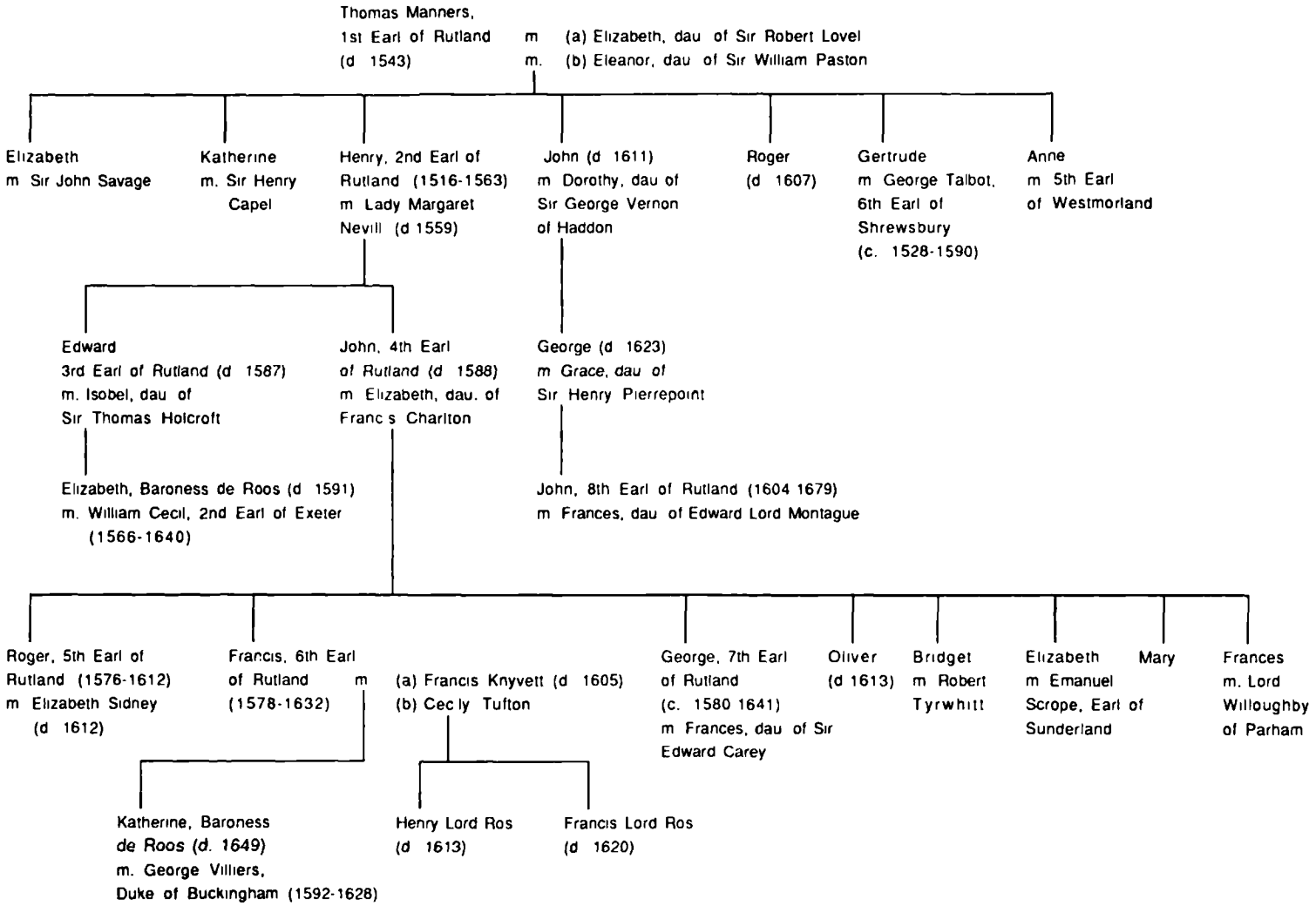

Information taken from Durant, Bess of Hardwick and Trease, Portrait of a Cavalier

# 6. The Sidneys, Earls of Leicester



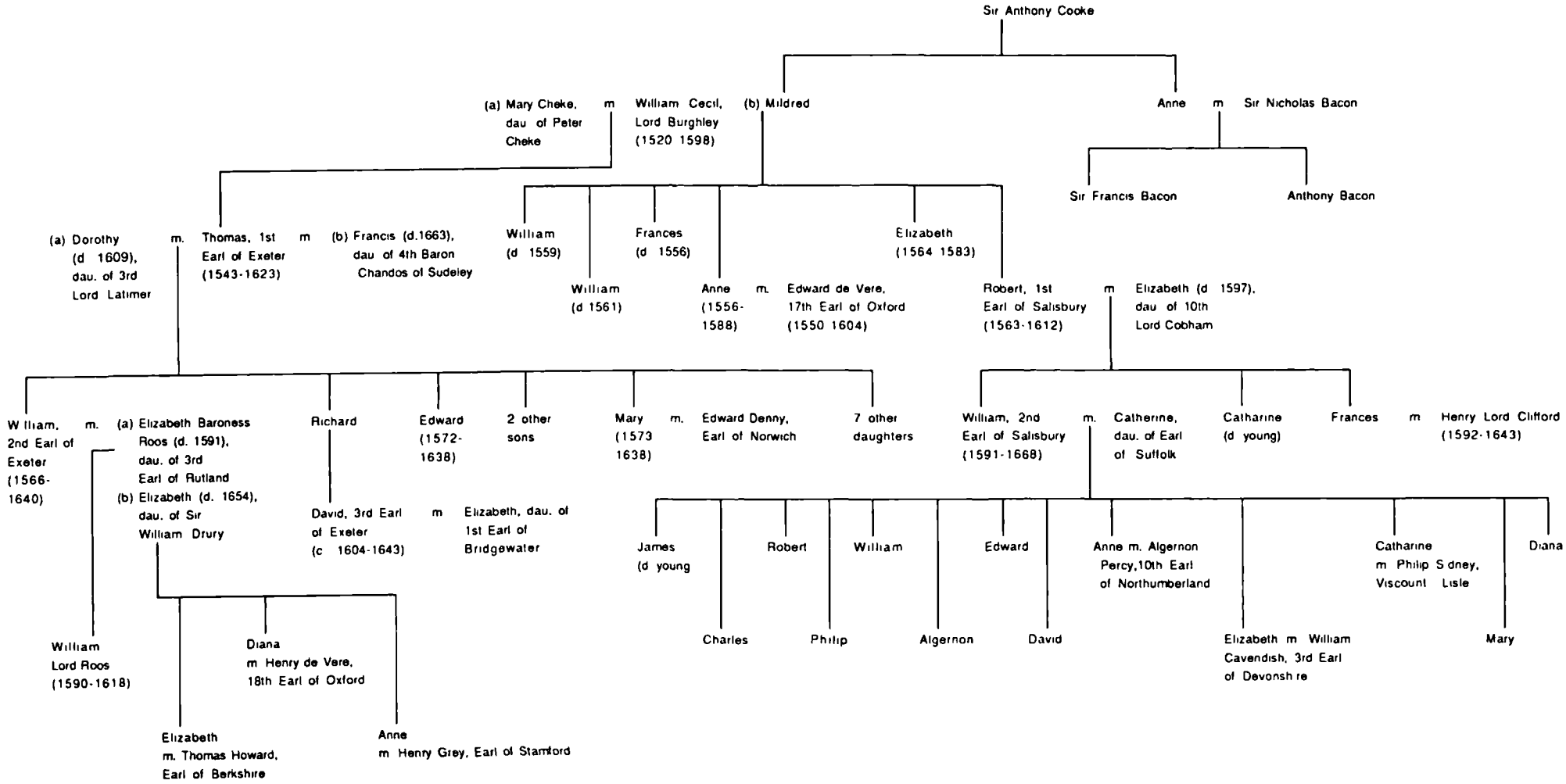

Information taken from Hay, The Life of Robert Sidney

# 7. The Manners, Earls of Rutland



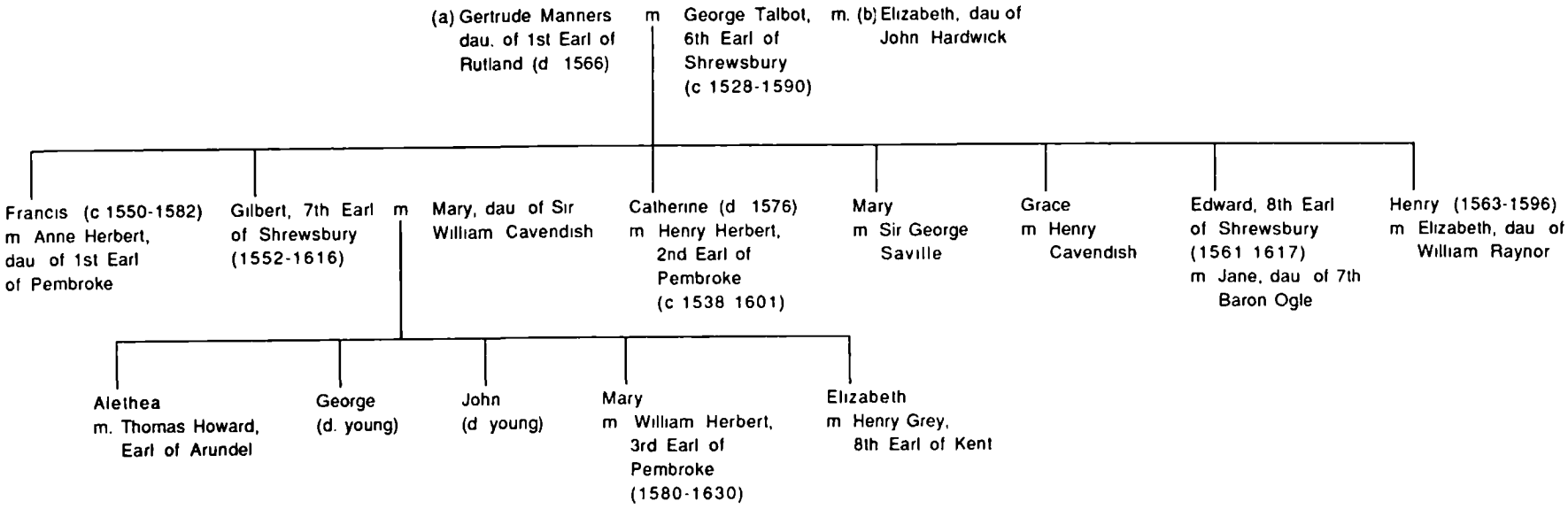

Information taken from Stone, Family and Fortune and Price, Patrons and Musicians

# 8. The Cecils, Earls of Salisbury and Exeter



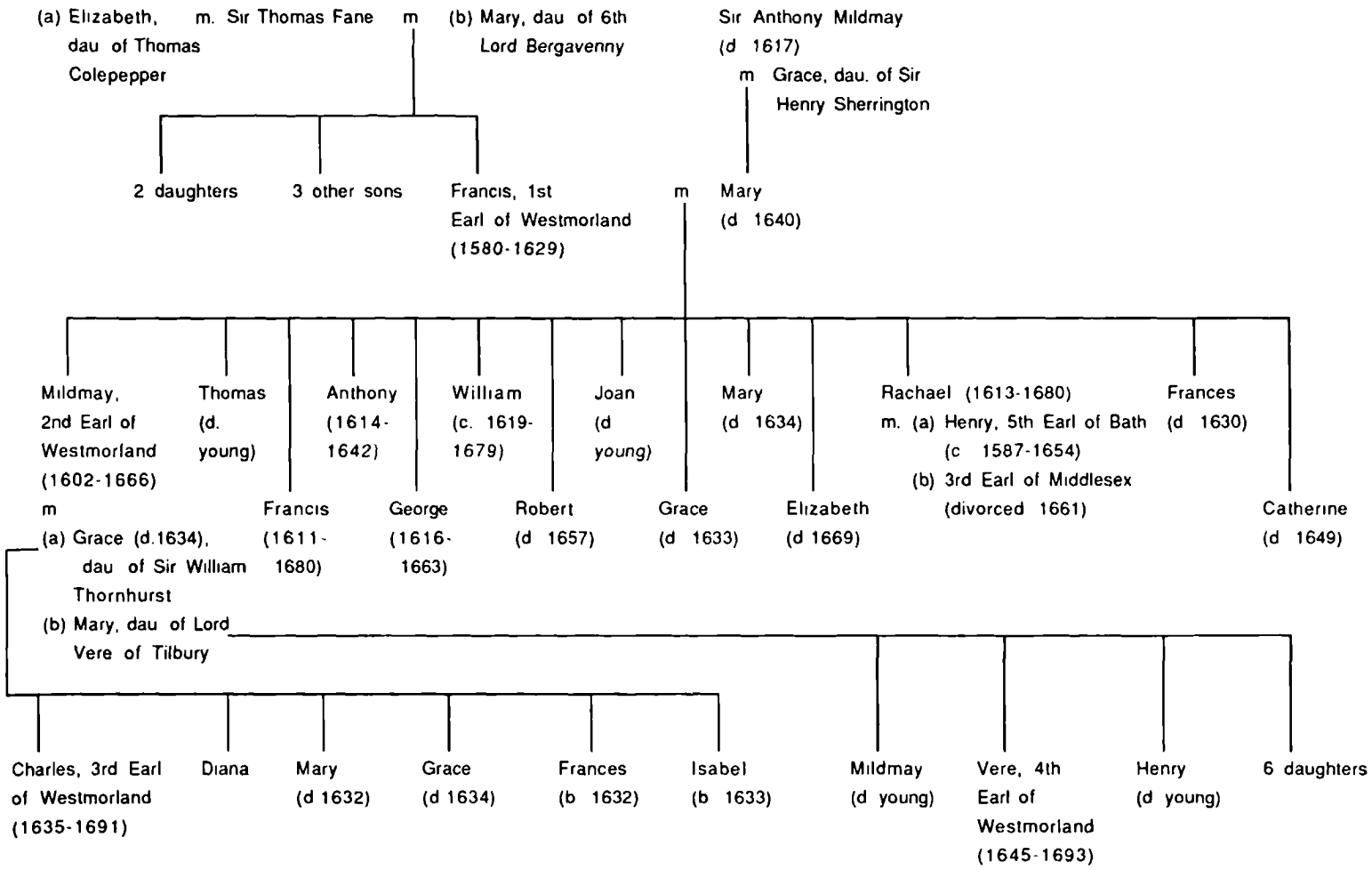

Information from D. Warrand (ed.), Hertfordshire Families (1907) and O Barron (ed.), Northamptonshire Families (1906)

# 9. The Talbots, Earls of Shrewsbury




Information taken from Durant, Bess of Hardwick

# 10. The Fanes, Earls of Westmorland




Information taken from O. Barron (ed), Northamptonshire Families (1906)

## APPENDIX III

### Patrons and their Musicians

| Patron | Musician/apprentice (composer claiming some form of employment or regular patronage) | Dates of service (< = before, > = after (f-t = full-time; p-t = part-time; p = professional; a = amateur; app = apprentice) | Musical skill (in private service) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3rd Earl of Bath | William Molins | < Oct. 1622 (f-t, app) | |
| | (John Amner) | < 1615 | |
| 5th Earl of Bath | Thomas Bold | < Jan. 1643 - Aug. 1654 (f-t, ?a) | |
| | Richard Cobb | < Oct. 1642 - Aug. 1654 (f-t, p) | viol, keyboard |
| | [Charles] Coleman | 1643-1646 (p-t) | viol |
| 1st Earl of Bridgewater | John Attey | < 1622 (f-t, p) | tutor (singing) |
| | Henry Lawes | ? - 1649 (p-t) | tutor (singing) |
| | Mr Newport | < May 1615 - > Dec. 1616 (?p-t) | tutor (lute) |
| | (Thomas Ravenscroft) | < 1614 | |
| Duke of Buckingham | Jacques Gaultier | 1617 - ? (?p-t) | lute |
| | (Thomas Vautor) | < 1619 | |
| 1st Earl of Clare | Willoughby | 1627 (?) | ? lute |
| 4th Earl of Cumberland and Henry Lord Clifford | John Coprario | < July 1614 - > Jan. 1617 (p-t) | viol, lyra viol |
| | Edward Cressett | May 1614 - > Aug. 1621 (f-t, app/p) | lute |
| | John Earsden | < Apr. 1610 - Feb. 1643 (f-t, app/p) | lute, theorbo, viol |
| | Orlando Gibbons | 1621 - 1623 (p-t) | tutor (organ) |
| | John Hingeston | < Aug. 1621 - Feb. 1643 (f-t, app/p) | keyboard, viol |
| | William Hudson | < Oct. 1625 - June 1642 (f-t, p) | violin, viol |
| | George Mason | < Dec. 1608 - > Dec. 1619 (f-t/p-t, app/p) | lute, viol |
| | Charles Pendrie | < Aug. 1607 - > Jan. 1621 (f-t, ?app/p) | ? string player |
| | Monsieur Simon | < July - Dec. 1614 (f-t, p) | tutor (lute) |
| | Arthur Wyatt | < Aug. 1607 - > July 1614 (f-t, p) | trumpeter, ? string player |
| | (William Byrd) | < 1611 | |
| | (Thomas Campion) | < 1613 - > 1617 | |
| 4th Earl of Derby | George Campion | 1587 (f-t, p) | trumpeter |
| | John King | 1587 - > July 1590 (f-t, p) | trumpeter |
| 5th Earl of Derby | (Francis Pilkington) | < 1594 | |
| 6th Earl of Derby | (Francis Pilkington) | < 1605 - > 1624 | |

APPENDIX III contd./

| Patron | Musician/apprentice | Dates of service | Musical skill |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alice, Dowager Countess of Derby | Mr Allen | 1635 (f-t, p) | viol |
| | Mr Cotton | 1635 (f-t, p) | viol |
| | Mr Jones | < Nov. 1634 - > Apr. 1635 (f-t, p) | viol |
| | Henry Lawes | 1634 (p-t) | |
| | William Lawes | 1634 (p-t) | |
| | Mr Vaux | < Aug. 1634 - > Mar. 1635 (f-t, p) | harpsichord |
| 1st Earl of Devonshire | Thomas Banes | < Jan. 1598 - June 1606 (f-t, ?a) | tutor (singing) |
| | Michael Cavendish | < 1604 - > 1616 (p-t) | lute, ? viol |
| | Thomas Cutting | < Mar. 1613 - Apr. 1614 (f-t, p) | lute |
| | John Dowland | 1612 (?) | lute |
| | Robert Dowland | < May 1612 - > Jan. 1616 (p-t) | lute |
| | Leues [Fleuron] | Apr. - May 1614 (?f-t, p) | lute |
| | Ham [ ] | < June 1605 - > Mar. 1607 (f-t, ?app/?p) | viol |
| | Mr Hewett | < Apr. 1606 - > June 1623 (f-t, ?a) | cittern |
| | Monsieur Lambert | < Mar. 1599 - Nov. 1600 (f-t, p) | lute |
| | Mr Maynard | < Nov. 1610 (p-t) | tutor (lute, viol) |
| | Mr Molsoe | < Nov. 1611 - > June 1620 (f-t, p) | lute |
| | Thomas Oates | Sept. 1602 - Sept. 1604 (f-t, a) | tutor (lute) |
| | Mr Pierce | < Apr. 1613 - Mar. 1614 (f-t, p) | lute |
| | James Starkey | < Oct. 1598 - July 1602 (f-t, a) | viol |
| Christian Countess of Devonshire | page | < May 1635 - > Feb. 1637 (f-t, app) | lute, harpsichord |
| 1st Earl of Dorset | Bonadventure Ashby | < Sept. 1607 - Apr. 1608 (f-t, p) | |
| | Robert Baxter | < Sept. 1607 - Apr. 1608 (f-t, p) | ? singer |
| | Christopher Beauforest | < Sept. 1607 - Apr. 1608 (f-t, p) | |
| | Cuthbert Bolton | < Sept. 1601 (f-t, p) | |
| | William Damon | 1565 - ?1571 (f-t, p) | recorder |
| | William Frigozi | < Sept. 1607 - Apr. 1608 (f-t, p) | |
| | Arthur Gill | < Sept. 1607 - Apr. 1608 (f-t, p) | ? viol |
| | Baptist Larkin | < Sept. 1607 - Apr. 1608 (f-t, p) | |
| | Horatio Lupo | < Sept. 1607 - Apr. 1608 (f-t, p) | violin |
| | John Myners | < Aug. 1607 - Apr. 1608 (f-t, p) | singer, ? string player |
| | William Symmes | < Sept. 1607 - Jan. 1608 (f-t, p) | ? string player |
| | Henry Webb | < Sept. 1607 - Apr. 1608 (f-t, p) | |
| | Thomas White | Jan. - Apr. 1608 (f-t, p) | |
| | Jonas Wrench | < Sept. 1607 - Apr. 1608 (f-t, p) | singer |
| 3rd Earl of Dorset | Henry Lawes | < Mar. - Sept. 1621 (?) | |
| 1st Earl of Exeter | (Thomas Robinson) | < 1609 | cittern |

APPENDIX III contd./

| Patron | Musician/apprentice | Dates of service | Musical skill |
|---|---|---|---|
| Earl of Hertford | John Coprario | > 1612 (?p-t) | tutor |
| | John Daniel | 1603-1605 (?p-t) | lute |
| | Alfonso Ferrabosco II | ? (p-t) | lute, viol |
| | Hamon | 1571 (f-t, app) | |
| | William Lawes | > 1612 (f-t, app) | viol, lute |
| | Gilbert Prynne | < 1581 - > 1583 (f-t, a) | tutor |
| | Robert Smyth | < 1581 - > 1583 (f-t, a) | tutor |
| | (John Bartlet) | < 1606 | |
| Marquess of Hertford | Anthony Roberts | July 1655 - July 1657 (p-t) | tutor (singing) |
| 5th Earl of Huntingdon | George Clark | < 1643 (f-t, ?) | |
| | Crisp | < Nov. 1606 - Apr. 1607 (?) | |
| | Tom Payner | < Oct. 1606 - > Sept. 1607 (?f-t, ?p) | cornet |
| 1st Earl of Leicester | Ferdinando Heybourne | 1595 (p-t) | |
| | Richard Lant | 1575-1576 (p-t) | tutor (singing) |
| | (Robert Dowland) | < 1610 | |
| Earl of Newcastle | singing boy | < 1613 (f-t, app) | singing |
| | Nicholas Lanier | ? - ? (p-t) | |
| | Henry Lawes | ? - ? (p-t) | |
| | Christopher Simpson | < 1642 - ? (?) | viol |
| | [William] Young | 1681 (f-t, p) | viol |
| | (John Gamble) | < 1659 | |
| Earl of Northampton | lutenist | ?1565 - 1570 (p-t) | tutor (lute) |
| | (William Byrd) | < 1605 | |
| 17th Earl of Oxford | John Farmer | 1591 - 1599 (f-t/p-t, p) | |
| 2nd Earl of Pembroke | Robert Hunne | < Sept. 1570 - > Mar. 1571 (f-t, p) | trumpeter |
| 3rd Earl of Pembroke | (Tobias Hume) | < 1605 - > 1607 | |
| 4th Earl of Pembroke | Alfonso Ferrabosco II | (p-t) | theorbo, singer |
| | Alfonso Ferrabosco III | < July 1647 - > June 1649 (?p-t) | |
| | Thomas Lanier | < Apr. - > June 1647 (?p-t) | |
| | (Tobias Hume) | < 1607 - > 1642 | |
| Mary, Countess Rivers (and Kytson family) | Henry Wilbye | < 1603 - 1638 (f-t, p) | |
| | John Wilbye | < 1628 - ? (f-t, ?app) | |
| 5th Earl of Rutland | Nynnion Gibbons | < June 1610 - > Dec. 1611 (f-t, p) | trumpeter |
| | Andrew Markes | < Sept. 1610 - June 1612 (f-t, p) | lute orpharion, ? viol |

APPENDIX III contd./

| Patron | Musician/apprentice | Dates of service | Musical skill |
|---|---|---|---|
| 6th Earl of Rutland | Andrew Markes | June 1612 - > Apr. 1620 (f-t, p) | lute, orpharion, ? viol |
| | trumpeter | < Dec. 1615 - > Mar. 1616 (f-t, p) | trumpeter |
| 8th Earl of Rutland | Lewis [Evans] | 1652 (p-t) | harp |
| | guitarist | 1643 (p-t) | tutor (guitar) |
| 1st Earl of Salisbury | Lord Burgh's 3 apprentices | offered in 1596 (?) | instrumentalists and singers including one treble and one high mean |
| | Sir Richard Champernown's boy | requested in 1595 (?) | singer |
| | Antony's Holborne's son | offered in 1606 (?) | |
| | John Coprario | < Apr. 1603 - May 1612 (p-t) | viol, lyra viol, tutor |
| | Christian Crusse | < Jan. 1608 - Feb. 1612 (f-t, app/p) | viol, ? singer |
| | Daniel [ ] | Feb. 1596 - ? (f-t, app) | instrumentalist |
| | William Frost | < Oct. 1607 - > Dec. 1611 (f-t, p) | keyboard |
| | Robert Hales | 1602 (p-t) | singer, lutenist |
| | Christopher Heybourne | c. 1591 - > July 1598 (f-t, p) | instrumentalist |
| | Antony Holborne | 1599-1602 (?) | lutenist |
| | Raiph Jackson | < May 1612 (f-t, ?p) | |
| | Innocent Lanier | < Feb. 1607 - > Oct. 1609 (p-t) | tutor |
| | John Lanier | < July 1605 - > Dec. 1610 (p-t) | tutor |
| | Nicholas Lanier | < July 1605 - May 1612 (f-t, app/p) | singer, viol, lute, flute |
| | Cormack MacDermott | < Feb. 1603 - May 1612 (f-t/p-t, p) | harp |
| | George Mason | < Feb. 1607 - > Aug. 1608 (f-t, app) | singer, viol, lute |
| | Henry Oxford | < Oct. 1607 May 1612 (f-t, p) | viol, ?singer |
| | Henry Phillips | < Dec. 1598 - ? (f-t, app) | |
| | Thomas Robinson | < 1609 (p-t) | cittern |
| | Simon [Ives] | < Oct. 1608 - > Oct. 1609 (f-t, app) | singer, viol and/or lute |
| | Joseph Sherley | Oct. 1609 - Oct. 1610 (p-t) | tutor |
| | Thomas Warwick | < 1605 - > Mar. 1609 (f-t, p) | keyboard |
| | Edward Winne | 1609 (f-t, ?a) | cittern |
| | unidentified musician | < Apr. 1608 (f-t, p) | bass singer |
| | (John Dowland) | < 1609 | |
| | (Thomas Morley) | < 1595- > 1598 | |
| 2nd Earl of Salisbury | John Coprario | May 1612 - > Apr. 1613 (p-t) | viol, lyra viol |
| | Raiph Jackson | May 1612 - > Apr. 1614 (f-t, ?p) | |
| | Matthew Johnson | 1613, 1626-1629 (p-t/f-t, p) | lute |
| | Henry Lawes | 1647 (p-t) | tutor (singing) |
| | Nicholas Lanier | May 1612 - > Apr. 1614 (f-t, p) | singer, viol, lute, flute |
| | Cormack MacDermott | May 1612 - > Apr. 1613 (p-t) | harp |
| | Henry Oxford | May - > July 1612 (f-t, p) | viol, ? singer |
| | Robert [ ] | 1614 (?) | ? harp |

APPENDIX III contd./

| Patron | Musician/apprentice | Dates of service | Musical skill |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2nd Earl of Salisbury | Vallentyne [Sawyer] | Jan. 1614 (p-t) | viol |
| | (Thomas Robinson) | 1609 | cittern |
| 7th Earl of Shrewsbury | William Cannegeter | < Mar. 1605 - > Mar. 1608 (f-t, ?p) | |
| | Martin Otto | < 1591 - < Mar. 1608 (f-t, p) | viol, bass singer |
| | Richard Smith | < Sept. 1609 (f-t, p) | |
| | Thomas Smith | < Oct. 1609 (f-t, p) | |
| | Thomas Yonge | ? > Dec. 1590 (f-t, ?p) | |
| Elizabeth, Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury | Richard Abrahall | < Aug. 1594 - > Aug. 1599 (f-t, a) | ? viol |
| | Thomas Banes | < Sept. 1596 - > Oct. 1601 (f-t, ?a) | singing |
| | John Dandridge alias Good | < Nov. 1591 - Oct. 1601 (f-t, a) | singing, ? viol |
| | Francis Parker | < Dec. 1592 - > Oct. 1601 (f-t, a) | singing, ? viol |
| | James Starkey | < Oct. 1592 - > Oct. 1601 (f-t, a) | singing, viol |
| 3rd Earl of Southampton | (Alfonso Ferrabosco II) | < 1609 | |
| 1st Earl of Suffolk | Francis Cutting | < Jan. 1596 (?p-t) | lute |
| | musician | 1608 (f-t, ?p) | |
| 2nd Earl of Suffolk | John Dowland | < Oct. 1612 (?f-t, p) | lute |
| 1st Earl of Westmorland | musicians | < Mar. 1629 (f-t, p) | |
| 4th Earl of Worcester | William Byrd | < 1589 - 1623 (p-t) | keyboard |

## APPENDIX IV

### Dorset's provision for his musicians on his decease[1]

And whereas I have and do enterteyne divers musicions some for the voyce and some for the instrument, whome I have founde to be honest in theire behavyoure and skillfull in their profession: and whoe have often given me after many longe laboures and paynefull travells of the daye, much recreation and contentation with theire delightefull harmonye nowe to the end that after my decease some good course and respect may be taken and had towardes them I could wishe that yf my sonne Buchurst or my next heire male for the tyme beyng shall after my decease be willing to enterteyne them and that they and every one of them shall in like manner be willing to serve hym that then there may be a wryting of contract indented betwixt hym and every one of them in particular, wherein every such one maye covenant well and trulie to serve hym for and during the joynt lyves of hym and every suche one accordingly in consideracion whereof my saied sonne Buchurst or next heire male may in the same writing of contract indented graunte unto every suche one in particular (John Mynors only excepted) for during his life and the life of every suche one in particular joyntlie one annuitie or yerelie portion of twentie poundes of lawfull money yssuing out of landes tenmentes and hereditamentes lyable therunto, and paieable at the twoe feastes of th'anunciation of our Ladye and Saint Mich' th'archangell by equall porcions or within threescore dayes after any of the sayed feastes: and with a clause of distresse for non payment of the same annuitie. And may further covenant to give unto hym during theire saied twoe joynte lives competent meate drincke and lodging in such convenyent sorte as ys fitt for servauntes to have. And allwayes to allowe unto every such one his said dyett lodging and pention aswell in sickness as in healthe. But yf my saied sonne Buchurst or next heire male shalbe willing to enterteyne them or any of them and in the other side my sayd musicions or some of them shall not be willing to serve hym then my will and meaninge ys that suche and so many of them (the said John Myners only excepted) as ar so unwilling shalbe cleerly dischardged without any manner of consideration to be had towardes them or any of them other then by payment of such and so muche wages as at the tyme of my decease by computacion of dayes even unto the daye of my funerall shall fall out to be due unto them. And that such and so many of them as shalbe willing to serve hym and yet perhappes he not willing to accept them in somuch that all musicall companyes yf they once brake in parte they dissolve the whole shall have and enjoye to eache and every such one in particular as of my guifte one annuitye or yerelie pencion of five poundes of lawfull money to be yssuing out of all and every my baronies lordshippes mannors lands tenementes and hereditamentes scituat lying and beyng in the rape of Lewes within the countie of Sussex: and payable at the twoe feastes of Annunciation and Sainct Michaell by equall porcons or within three score dayes after either of the sayed feastes and with a clause of distresse for non payment of the same and so shalbe at libertie to departe to serve els where or to followe any other honest trade of life that shalbe most to his liking. And touching the saied John Mynors

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1. PRO PROB 11/113/1

whome I esteeme for one of the most sufficient musicions amongest them forsomuch as I have allwayes fownde hym to be a servaunte of good discretion much honestie and withall very dutifull and diligent in his service and in that respect have allreadie given and graunted unto hym one annuitie or yerelie pension of twentie poundes for and during the tearme of his life. Therefore my will and meaninge ys that yf my saied sonne Buchurst or my saied next heire male after my decease shalbe willing amonge the rest of my musitions to enterteyne hym and that he in like manner shalbe willing with the rest to serve that then I could wishe that a like wryting of contract indented may be made betwixt my saied sonne Buchurst or my saied next heire male and hym agreable to that which is before set downe for the rest and that in consideracion thereof my saied sonne Buchurst or my saied next heire male may in the same writing of contract indented graunte unto the saied John Myners one annuitie or yerelie pention of sixe poundes thirteene shillinges and fower pence of lawfull money for and during the terme of his life over and besides his former annuitie of twentie poundes yerelie to hym by me allreadye graunted and is aforesayed to be yssuing payable and distraynable out of landes lyable therunto. But yf either the sayed John Myners shall not be willing to serve or that my saied sonne Buchurst or nexte heire male shall not be willing to enterteyne hym that then he may departe and followe what course of life hym selfe best liketh without expectacion of any further encrease of annuitie to be given unto hym in asmuche as he hath allreadye the sayed annuitye of twentie poundes yerelie sufficiently assured unto hym for and during the tearme of his life.

## APPENDIX V

### Music books and manuscripts

Appendix V is set out alphabetically by peerage title and includes contemporary references to music books and manuscripts owned by the patrons listed in Appendix I, the date of the reference cited, the description as it appears in the source and identification where possible. Details of editions and reprints of continental publications listed in the appendix are taken from Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM), 'Einzeldrucke vor 1800', 9 vols (Basel, 1971-1981); RISM, 'Recueils Imprimés XV$^{e}$-XVII$^{e}$ Siècles', (Munich, 1960); E. Vogel, Bibliothek der gedruckten weltlichen Vocalmusik italiens 1500-1700, 2 vols (Hildescheim, 1962); A Einstein, The Italian Madrigal, 3 vols (Princeton, 1949); and The New Grove. Some of the inventories are followed by a brief commentary on the sources.

I. Bath, 5th Earl of[1]

| Reference | Date | Description in Source | Identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| KAO U269/ A518/3 | xi.1650 | 3 viall bookes & 3 quire of ruled paper | - |
| A518/3 | xi.1650 | 3 quire of ruled paper [sent by Lady Cope, the Countess of Bath's sister-in-law] | - |

1. William, 3rd Earl of Bath inherited his grandfather's title in 1560 at the age of three. His education was entrusted to Sir William Spring of Packenham, Suffolk, son-in-law of Sir Thomas Kytson and Margaret Donington who married as her third husband John Bourchier, 2nd Earl of Bath. Between at least 1570 and 1582 Spring funded Bath's schooling both at Ely and Cambridge, details of which can be found in Lbl Harl. MS 7390. The manuscript also contains several payments for song books, including works by Strogers, possibly the East Anglian composer Nicholas Strogers who served as parish clerk at St Dunstan-in-the-West, London from 1564 to 1575 (J. Caldwell and S. Jeans, 'Strogers, Nicholas', The New Grove, XVIII, 290-91). None of the entries relates specifically to Bath. The following references may therefore reflect Spring's musical interests rather than those of his charge: 'rulyng of songe bookes, xx$^{d}$' (1570); 'to Strogers for settyng & makyng of songes, xx$^{s}$ (1570); 'syngyng bookes, iii$^{s}$ iiii$^{d}$ (ii.1571/2); 'a sett of songe bookes, vi$^{s}$ viii$^{d}$' (ii.1571/2); 'to Strogers for songes, v$^{s}$' (v.1573); 'syngyng bookes, vii$^{s}$' (i.1576/7); ruled paper & too bookes, ii$^{s}$' (i.1576/7); 'syngyng bookes, iiii$^{s}$' (iii.1576/7); 'pryckyng of songes, ii$^{s}$' (iv.1577); 'songe bookes' (iii.1577/8); 'to Strogers for a songe' (1578); 'to Strogers for certeyn songes, x$^{s}$' (iv.1578); 'syngyng bookes' (xii.1578); 'to Mychell for certen pavyons and galyardes' (xii.1579) (Harl. MS 7390 ff. 21, 23v, 41-41v, 55, 92 (2), 94, 95v, 102v, 103v, 109v, 115).

II. Bridgewater

| Reference | Date | Description in Source | Identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| HL Ellesmere MS EL 6495 | < iv.1632 | three bookes of French songes<br>a French musick booke | -<br>- |
| MS EL 6863 | < v.1617 | | Coprario, 'Rules how to compose' (c. 1610) |
| MS EL 25.A. 46-51 | | | Vocal and instrumental works by anon., Anerio, Cavaccio, Coprario, Cranford, Croce, A. Ferrabosco I and II, Jenkins, Thomas Lupo, Marenzio, Monteverdi, Mosto, Pallavicino, Quinziani, Vecchi, Venturi, Weelkes and Wert[2] |
| MSS EL 8342 | xi.1646 | | Henry Lawes, 'A Hymenall Songe' (text only) |
| HL Bridgewater 59102 | 1602 | | Dowland, The first booke of songes or ayres (1597) |
| Bridgewater 69078 | < v.1617 | | Ravenscroft, A briefe discourse (1614) |

In addition to the Ellesmere manuscripts, the Huntington Library acquired the entire contents of the Bridgewater printed book collection in 1917, including copies of Dowland's The first booke of songes of ayres (1597) and Ravenscroft's A briefe discourse (1614), both of which belonged to John, Earl of Bridgewater. According to an inscription on the verso of the title page, Dowland's song book was purchased by the earl in 1602. Ravenscroft presented a copy of his treatise to Bridgewater some time before May 1617. Backus's Catalogue of Music in the Huntington Library printed before 1801 contains several other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English and Italian books preserved in the Bridgewater library, but there is insufficient archival evidence to link any of these works with the 1st and 2nd Earls of Bridgewater.[3]

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[2] For a detailed list of contents see R. Charteris, 'The Huntington Library Part Books, Ellesmere MSS EL 25 A 46-51', Hunt. Lib. Q., 50/1 (1987), 74-81.

[3]. Backus's catalogue includes the following books printed before 1660: Allison, An howres recreation in musicke (1606); Attey, The first booke of ayres of foure parts (1622); Bennet, Madrigalls to foure voyces (1599); Campion, The discription of a maske in honour of the Lord Hayes (1607); Damon, The former booke of the musicke...conteining all the tunes of Davids psalmes (1591); Dowland, A Pilgrimes Solace (1612); R. Dowland, Varietie of lute-lessons (1610); East, The third set of bookes...to 5. and 6. parts (1610); Ferrabosco, Ayres

It is not known how Coprario's autograph treatise, 'Rules how to compose', came into the 1st Earl's possession. The manuscript was acquired some time before May 1617, the date on which Egerton was raised to the peerage.[4] Backus thought that the part-books MSS EL 25.A.46-51 were 'made for [his] private use', but there is no evidence to substantiate this claim.[5] Field has suggested that the collection may have belonged originally to William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke on the basis of the initials 'W.H.' which appear on the binding of each volume. A shelf-mark in the hand of the 2nd Earl of Bridgewater confirms that they were later acquired by the Egerton family.[6]

The copy of Tessier's Le premier livre de chansons (1597) listed in Backus's catalogue of the Bridgewater Library may be one of the 'three bookes of French songes' included in the note of Lady Bridgewater's books at London.[7]

III. Clare

| Reference | Date | Description in Source | Identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| NUL PwV4 p.186 | i.1654/5 | Cipriarios songs in 4 parts | de Rore, Il primo libro de madrigali a quattro voce (1550, etc.) or Il secundo libro di madrigali a quattro voci |

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(1609); Gamble, Ayres and dialogues (1657) and Ayres and dialogues (1659); Hilton, Catch that catch can (1652) Jones, A musicall dreame (1609) and The muses gardin for delights (1610); H. and W. Lawes, Choice psalmes (1648); H. Lawes, The second book of ayres (1655); Lichfield, The first set of madrigals of 5. parts (1613); Megli of Reggio, Musiche (1602); Merulo, Il primo libro de madrigali a 3 voci (1580); Morley, Il primo libro delle ballette a cinque voci (1595); Morley, A plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke (1597); Playford, Select musicall ayres and dialogues (1653), Select ayres and dialogues (1659) and The dancing master (1653); Scaletta, Scala di musica (1592); Tailour, Sacred Hymns (1615); Tessier, Le premier livre de chansons (1597); Vecchi Canzonette libro terzo a 4 voci (1593); Vincenti, Fiori musicali...libro primo (1590) and Fiori musicali...libro secondo (1588); Weelkes, Balletts and madrigals to five voyces (1598); and Wilson, Psalterium Carolinum (1657) (E.N. Backus, Catalogue of Music in the Huntington Library printed before 1801 (San Marino, 1949).

I am grateful to Thomas Lange, Associate Curator for Early Printed Books, Huntington Library, for his assistance.

4. The manuscript is signed 'J. Egerton' and 'J. Bridgewater'.

5. E.N. Backus, 'The Music Resources in the Huntington Library', Notes, 1st series 14 (1942), 27-35, see esp. p. 34

6. C.D.S. Field, M&L, 62 (1981), 98-103, see esp. pp. 101-02. Charteris suggests that Coprario may have brought the collection to the Egerton household ('The Huntington Library Part Books', 73-74).

7. Ellesmere MS EL 6495

Clare contd./

| Reference | Date | Description in Source | Identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (1557, etc.) or Tutti i madrigali di Cipriano di Rore a quattro voci... (1577) |
| NUL PwV4 | | | |
| p.192 | | lute book covered with green $4^{to}$ | - |
| p.199 | i.1657/8 | libro di musica $4^{to}$ | - |
| | | madrigalia a quattro voci $4^{to}$ | - |

The above sources are listed in two sections of a manuscript notebook belonging to the 2nd Earl of Clare described as 'a note of my books at Haughton in my upper closett & in an ould trunk in the great chambre' (9 January 1654/5) and 'an antient note of my books' (20 January 1657/8). The entry 'madrigalia a quattro voci' on p. 199 may refer to the volume of madrigals by Cipriano de Rore listed on p. 186.

IV. Cumberland[8]

| Reference | Date | Description in Source | Identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bolton MSS | | | |
| bk 94 f.183 | xii.1611 | dyvers song bookes and other work [by George Mason] | - |
| bk 95 f.122 | iv.1614 | to an Italian in golde whoe presented his L'pp with a songe booke, 44s | - |
| bk 98 f. 134v | vii.1619 | songes [set by George Mason] xls | |
| Cooper, 'Wentworth papers, 104 | x.1617 | the booke and songes of his Mat'es entertainm't | Mason & Earsden, The Ayres that were sung and played, at Brougham Castle (1618) |

8. 'Diverse musick bookes', possibly belonging to the Cliffords were left in Yorkshire during the Civil War by the 5th Earl of Cumberland's son-in-law, Richard, 2nd Earl of Cork (Bolton MSS uncatalogued).

V. Devonshire

This detailed inventory is derived from six manuscript sources:

i) Four bookes of household accounts dating from the late Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, spanning most of Devonshire's adult life -- Hardwick MSS 10A (1598-1602), 10B (1603-1607), 23 (1599-1606) and 29 (1608-23) -- referred to as sources A to D respectively.
ii) Two library catalogues compiled by or under the supervision of Thomas Hobbes, tutor to the 2nd and 3rd Earls of Devonshire and librarian at Chatsworth. Dating from the late 1620s, Hobbes MS E.1.A. was probably compiled shortly after the death of the 2nd Earl in 1628. An uncatalogued manuscript in the hand of James Wheldon, Hobbes's amanuensis, dates from c. 1659. These manuscripts are referred to as sources E and F respectively.[9]

| Reference | Date | Description in Source | Identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| A | ii.1598[10] | Morleys songs of 2 and 3 partes, 5s | Morley, The first booke of canzonets to two voyces or Canzonets or little short songs to three voyces (1593) |
| A | xii.1598 | three sett of Morley songes ...one of 5 partes and too settes of 4 partes, xii$^{s}$ vi$^{d}$ | Morley, The first booke of balletts to five voyces (1595); Madrigalls to foure voyces (1594); Canzonets or little short songs to four voyces (1597)[11] |

9. A third contemporary catalogue survives among the Hobbes's manuscripts preserved at Chatsworth, Hobbes MS E.2, compiled c. 1631, which contains a list of twenty-seven books and manuscripts entitled 'De Musica'. J.J. Hamilton has suggested that this source may have been connected with the library of the 2nd Earl of Devonshire's cousin, Sir Charles Cavendish ('Hobbes's Study and the Hardwick Library', Journal of the History of Philosophy, 16 (1978), 445-52, see esp. p. 447). However, A. Pacchi has identified this source as Hobbes's own hand-written copy of the Bodleian library catalogue, and includes a detailed description of its contents in 'Una "biblioteca ideale" di Thomas Hobbes: il ms E2 dell'archivo di Chatsworth', Acme: Annali della facolta di lettere e filosophia del'Universita degli Studi di Milano, 21 (1968), 5-42.

10. In the Cavendish accounts the new year begins on 1st January.

11. All three volumes were purchased for Master William Cavendish by his tutor, James Starkey.

Devonshire contd./

| Reference | Date | Description in Source | Identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| A, C | iv.1599 | Talis and Bird and Younges too settes of songes, viii$^{s}$ | Tallis & Byrd, Cantiones sacrae (1575); Yonge, Musica Transalpina (1588) and Musica Transalpina The second booke of madrigalles (1597) |
| A, C | x.1599 | three settes of songe bookes, 16s | - |
| | | a sett of singeing bookes, 3s 6d | - |
| | | a sett of singeing bookes, 3s | - |
| | | a sett of singinge bookes, 1s 8d | - |
| A, C | x.1599 | Luca Marenzio his 5 partes, 5s 4d<br>the same of sixe partes, 6s | Insufficient detail is given in the accounts to identify these works with certainty. Between 1580 and 1599 Marenzio published eleven books of 5-part madrigals and six books of 6-part madrigals, several in more than one edition. |
| A, C | x.1599 | singing bookes viz musica melodia divina olimpica harmonia celeste balleti Petre Phelip inglise madrige Horatio Vecchy music, 16s 8d<br>4 quire of paper, 2s | Musica divina di XIX autori illustri a IIII. V. VI. et VII. voci... (1583, 1588, 1591 or 1595); Melodia olympica di diversi eccellentissimi musici a IV. V. VI. et VII. voci nuovamente raccolta da Pietro Phillippi inglese (1591 or 1594); Harmonia celeste di diversi eccellentissimi musici a III. IIII. V. VI. et VII. voci... (1583, 1589 or 1593); [?Gastoldi, Balletti a cinque voci (1596)]; Philips, Il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci (1596) or Madrigali a otto voci (1598 or 1599); Vecchi, Convito musicale... |

Devonshire contd./

| Reference | Date | Description in Source | Identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | madrigali et canzonette a III. IIII. V. VI. VII. et VIII. voci (1598)[12] |
| A, C, E, F | i.1600 | Mr Michaell Cavendish his booke of musicke, 4s 8d | Cavendish, 14 ayres in tabletorie to the lute (1598)[13] |
| A, C | ix.1600 | singing bookes, xi$^{s}$ | - |
| A | ix.1600 | Morleys songes of 4 partes | Morley, Madrigalls to foure voyces (1600 ed.?) |
| C | x.1601 | Morleyes art of musick, iii$^{s}$ | Morley, A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke (1597) |
| A, C | x.1601 | two singing bookes, viii$^{s}$ [14] | - |
| A, C | xii.1601 | Morleys Oriana in 6 partes, iii$^{s}$ vi$^{d}$ | Morley, The Triumphes of Oriana (1601) |
| A | xii.1601 | 2 litle ruled playing or singing bookes, xii$^{d}$ | - |
| A | xii.1601 | a singing book made by Jones, iii$^{s}$ vi$^{d}$ | Jones, The second booke of songes and ayres (1601) or The first booke of songes or ayres of foure parts (1600) |
| B, C | ix.1604 | Six settes of english songe bookes vizt. 4.5. & 6. partes of Watsons/Wilkes sett Est his madrigalls Rossesstors booke Dowlandes 3$^{d}$ booke/ Robinson scoole of musicke, xxxix$^{s}$ iiii$^{d}$ | Watson, The first sett of Italian madrigalls Englished (1590); Weelkes, Madrigals to 3.4.5. & 6 voyces (1597); East, Madrigales to 3.4. and 5 parts (1604); Rosseter, A booke of ayres (1601); Dowland, The third and last booke of songs or aires |

12. Identification has been restricted to the Phalèse editions of Gastoldi's Balletti and Vecchi's Convito Musicale because all the other works listed here were published in Antwerp by Pierre Phalèse either solely or jointly with Jean Bellère.

13. Purchased for Master William Cavendish.

14. Purchased for Master William Cavendish.

Devonshire contd./

| Reference | Date | Description in Source | Identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (1603); Robinson, The schoole of musicke (1603) |
| B, C | ix.1604 | nyne settes of Italian songes vizt Il pastor fido di Jovani Piccioni/ Triompho di Dori/Madrigali di Floriano Roncato/ Canzonette Ariose del Lisca/ Il quatro libro di L. Merentio/Madrigali di Alessandro Fyamengo/ Madrigali per Matteo Asola/ | Piccioni, Il pastor fido musicale il sesto libro di madrigali a 5 voci (1602); Il trionfo di dori descritto da diversi et posto in musica a sei voci da altretanti autori ...(1592, 1595, 1596, 1599 or 1601); Roncato, unidentified; del Lisca, |
| | | Canzonette, Spirituali, Madrigali di Luca Merentio, £1 15s | unidentified; Marenzio, Il 4° libro de Madrigali a 5 voci (1584, 1589 or 1594) or Il 4° libro de Madrigali a 6 voci (1587, 1593 or 1603) or Il 4° libro delle villanelle a 3 (1587, 1592, 1596 or 1600); Fyamengo, unidentified; Asola, Madrigalia 2 voci accommodati da cantar in fuga (1584, 1587, 1600 or 1604) or Madrigali spiritualia 5 voci (n.d.);[15] Marenzio, Il secondo libro delle canzonette alla napolitana a tre voci (1585 or 1587);[16] Marenzio, Madrigali spirituali a 5 voci... libro primo (1584 or 1588) |
| B, C | ix.1604 | Eight setes more of English songe bookes vizt, Wilbies | Wilbye, The first set of English madrigals |

15. Now lost but cited in Gardano's Indice of 1591 (O. Mischiati, Indice, cataloghi e arvisi degli editori e librai musicali italiani dal 1591 al 1798 (Florence, 1984), 90).

16. This identification is based on the fact that only two of Marenzio's three-part villanelle are specifically described as 'canzonette'.

Devonshire contd./

| Reference | Date | Description in Source | Identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | madrigals/Younges 1, & 2, settes, Wilkes 2[d] & 3[d] setts Batesons 3,4,5 & 6 partes Farnabyes 4 voyces, Carletons 5 partes, xxix[s] ii[d] | (1598);[17] Yonge, Musica Transalpina (1588 and 1597); Weelkes, Balletts and madrigals to five voyces with one to 6 (1598) and Madrigals of 5 and 6 parts (1600); Bateson, The first set of English madrigales (1604); Farnaby, Canzonets to fowre voyces with a song of eight parts (1598); Carlton, Madrigals to five voyces (1601) |
| B, C | iv.1605 | three settes of singinge bookes bought by Mr Mich. Cavendish, xvi[s] | - |
| B, C | vi.1605 | ruled bookes...2 of 6 lynes & one of 5 lynes, xx[d] [18] | - |
| B | vi.1605 | a songe booke called Mr Humes humors, iiii[s] | Hume, The first part of ayres (1605) |
| B | vi.1605 | Dowlandes lachrime Johnes Ult Vale & Greaves booke, xi[s] | Dowland, Lachrimae (1604); Jones, Ultimum Vale (1605); Greaves, Songes of sundrie kindes (1604) |
| C | xi.1605 | a ruled paper booke, 2s | - |
| B, C | xii.1605 | 2 bookes for the vyall [pricked by] Mr Edneis man | - |
| C | iii.1606 | 6 viall bookes to be prickt, iii[s] [19] | - |

17. 'Wilby 6 partes 4[o]' and 'Coperario fol.' are also listed in source E, and Allison's and Greaves's publications in sources E and F (see entries dated vii.1612, i.1613, ii.1612 and vi.1605). Allison's Psalmes is also listed in the library catalogue Hardwick MS 16, prepared shortly before Hobbes's death in 1679.

18. Purchased for Master William Cavendish.

19. Purchased for Master William Cavendish.

Devonshire contd./

| Reference | Date | Description in Source | Identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| B | vii.1606 | a booke to prick voyall lessons in, iiii$^{s}$ | - |
| B | vii.1606 | musicke bookes | - |
| B | vii.1607 | to Ham for three ruled bookes sent for by him to London 7s 6d | - |
| D/p.227 | v.1611 | Welbies sett of song bookes, 6s | Wilbye, The second set of madrigales to 3.4.5 and 6 parts (1609) |
| D/p.265 | ii.1612 | a sett of song bookes Wilkes three partes, 3s 4d | Weelkes, Ayres or Phantasticke Spirites (1608) |
| D/p.265 | ii.1612 | 2 songe bookes Alfensos & psalmes in 4 partes, 6s | Ferrabosco, Ayres (1609); ? Allison, Psalmes of David in meter (1599) |
| D/p.267 | iv.1612 | Mr Morleys booke of aires, 2s | Morley, The first booke of Ayres (1600) |
| D/p.267 | v.1612 | a sett of ruled song bookes binding and stringes, xxii$^{s}$ ii$^{d}$ | - |
| D/p.268 | v.1612 | Dowlandes last booke of aires, 2s 6d | Dowland, A Pilgrimes Solace (1612) |
| D/p.269 | vii.1612 | Coprarios funerall elegie, 1s | Coprario, Funeral teares (1606) |
| D/p.310 | i.1613 | a song booke of the princes funeralles, xii$^{d}$ | Coprario, Songs of mourning (1613) |
| D/p.316 | iv.1613 | a printed booke for the virginals, viii$^{s}$ | Parthenia (1612/3) |
| D/p.317 | v.1613 | 2 bookes for 2 vyolls, xvi$^{d}$ | - |
| D/p.321, F | vi.1613 | a sett of Mr Wardes bookes, v$^{s}$ vi$^{d}$ | Ward, The first set of English madrigals to 3.4.5 and 6 parts (1613)[20] |

20. According to Wheldon's catalogue, only three volumes of this six-part set survived in the 1650s.

Devonshire contd./

| Reference | Date | Description in Source | Identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| D/p.321 | vi.1613 | three bookes for three lutes, viii$^{s}$ ix$^{d}$ | - |
| D/p.361, E, F | i.1614 | Morleys introduction, folio 5s | Morley, A Plaine and Easie Introduction... (1608 ed.?) |
| D/p.365 | iii.1614 | 2 maske bookes, 8d[21] | - |
| D/p.374 | vii.1614 | 5 settes of Italion song bookes that weere Mr Cuttinges, 10s | - |
| E, F | | Attey fol. | Attey, The first booke of ayres of foure parts (1622) |
| E, F | | Dowlands Art of Musique fo. | Dowland, Andreas Ornithoparcus his Micrologus (1609) |
| E, F | | Mask at ye Lady Somersets weddinge 4$^{o}$ | Campion, The description of a maske...at the marriage of the right honourable the earle of Somerset (1614)[22] |
| F | | Tomkins Songs of 4.5.6 parts 4$^{o}$ | Tomkins, Songs of 3.4.5 and 6 parts (1622) |
| F | | Morley Consort lessons for the lute &c, sett 4$^{o}$ | Morley, The first booke of consort lessons (1599 or 1611) |
| F | | Rosseter lute lessons fol. | Rosseter, Lessons for Consort (1609) |
| F | | lessons manuscript tablature fol. | - |

21. This entry may include the anonymous The Maske of Flowers, of which a unique copy survives at Chatsworth. William Cavendish, the 1st Earl's son, had been a student at Gray's Inn where the masque was performed (J. Foster, The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521-1887 (1889), part 1, 103).

22. A copy of Campion's wedding masque formerly in the possession of the Dukes of Devonshire was sold to the Huntington Library, but it has not been possible to establish its date of acquisition by the Cavendish family (HL, Early Printed Books, Devonshire-Heber 80755).

Devonshire contd./

| Reference | Date | Description in Source | Identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| F | | Dr Wilsons Psalterium Carelema 5 vols. fol. | Wilson, Psalterium Carolinum. The devotions of His Sacred Majestie in his solitude and suffering...set to musick for three voices and an organ or theorbo (1657) |
| Ibl Sloane MS 3992 | | | 17 short untitled and unattributed pieces in score probably for two viols |

Nine of the printed books listed above are included in a nineteenth-century library catalogue held at Chatsworth which has since been updated:[23]

i) the cantus parts of Weelkes's Madrigals to 3,4,5 & 6 voyces (1597), his Madrigals of 5 and 6 parts (1600) and Wilbye's The second set of madrigals to 3,4,5 and 6 parts (1609) bound together in one volume, see entries dated ix.1604 (2) and v.1611;
ii) the cantus part of Marenzio's Madrigali spirituali a 5 voci...libro primo (1588 ed.), entry dated ix.1604, bound together with the cantus parts of Il terzo libro de Madrigali a sei voci (1585) and Madrigali a quatro voci (1587);
iii) Morley's A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke (1608 ed.), see entry dated i.1614;
iv) Attey's The first booke of ayres of foure parts (1622), see undated entry in sources E and F;
v) Coprario's Funeral teares (1606) and Songs of mourning (1613), bound together in one volume, see entries dated vii.1612 and i.1613; and
vi) Allison's Psalmes of David in Meter (1599), see entry dated ii.1612.

Several printed works of historic interest to and association with the Cavendish family were purchased in the 1920s by Francis Thompson on behalf of the 9th Duke of Devonshire, and of those listed above, at least two, Coprario's lute

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23. The catalogue includes several other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century music prints, for example, Marenzio's Il primo libro de madrigali a 5 voci (1600 ed.) (canto, alto, quinto parts only bound together in one volume) and two theoretical works, Butler's The principles of musicke (1636) and Simpson's A compendium of practical musick (1667 ed.), dedicated to the 2nd Earl of Devonshire's cousin, the Duke of Newcastle. However, it has not been possible to locate these works in order to establish their date of acquisition.

song books of 1606 and 1613, are known to have been acquired at this time.[24] It is unlikely that the copy of Allison's Psalmes included in the nineteenth-century catalogue is the one purchased in February 1612. This volume, decorated with the prince of Wales's feathers and the initials 'W.C.', belonged originally to Prince Henry (d. 1612), and may have entered the family's possession through their lutenist, Thomas Cutting.[25] Of the remaining six works only Attey's The first booke of ayres of foure parts can now be located at Chatsworth. The binding is early seventeenth century, but there are no distinguishing features to associate it with the 1st Earl of Devonshire's collection.[26]

Included in the appendix is a manuscript of instrumental music preserved in the British Library, Sloane MS 3992, a collection of seventeen short untitled and unattributed pieces in score, apparently for two viols. Dating from the first half of the seventeenth century, this source contains the signature 'Charles Cavendysshe' (f.1v). The spelling of the surname conforms with that used by the Midlands branch of the family. Within the Devonshire-Newcastle family network there are four possible contemporary owners: brother of the 1st Earl of Devonshire (1553-1617), nephew of the 1st Earl of Devonshire and brother of the Earl of Newcastle (?-1654), son of the Earl of Newcastle (?1626-1659) and son of the 2nd Earl of Devonshire (1620-1643). However, the existing signatures of the first two do not correspond with that of Sloane MS 3992.

VI. Leicester

| Reference | Date | Description in Source | Identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| KAO U1475/ A38/1 | iii.1592 | [to] one Joseph the quenes mussission as your lo' reward for presentinge of boukes unto you, x$^{s}$ | - |
| U1475/C12/2 | ix.1595 | songes [sent by Ferdinando Heybourne] | - |
| U1475/Z45/2 | n.d. 2nd | | |
| f.27v | half 17th | Canti delle villenelle 4$^{o}$ | - |
| f.85v | century | Jo. Geometrae hymni sacri tom, 8 | - |
| f.107 | | Magi Canti 4$^{o}$ | - |

24. Both works were sold by Christie's on 30 June 1958 (see the catalogue of Important Early Printed Books from the Chatsworth Collection) and are now in the possession of Robert Spencer.

25. This copy of Allison's Psalmes was sold at Christie's in 1958 and is now preserved in the Folger Shakespeare Library.

26. Robert Spencer has suggested this may be a proof copy because of the nature of the corrections contained therein (Private communication).

Leicester contd./

| Reference | Date | Description in Source | Identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| U1475/Z45/2 f.109v | | Marenzio Canti 8 bis | Marenzio, Il 8° libro de Madrigali a 5 voci (1598 or 1605) |
| f.119v | | Morley his Introduction to Practicall Musicke fol. | Morley, A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke (1597 or 1608) |
| f.121 | | Musicke booke fol. | - |
| f.186v | | Taylors Sacred Hymnes 8° | Tailour, Sacred Hymns (1615) |
| - | vii.1598 | french songs[27] | |

During the final years of Elizabeth's reign Sir Robert Sidney served as governor of the Low Countries (1589-1603), but he maintained a presence at the English court either in person or through his agents or patrons.[28] Thus he continued to be actively involved in Elizabethan court culture, and in March 1592 during a return visit to the capital he was presented with music books by the queen's violinist, Joseph Lupo. Sidney numbered among his friends the virginalist and composer, Ferdinando Heybourne alias Richardson, groom of the privy chamber, who sent songs to the governor at Flushing. In 1598 Sidney also received a collection of French songs from the Parisian bookseller, Léon Cavellat, via the 3rd Earl of Southampton.

KAO U1475/Z45/2 was probably compiled for Robert, 2nd Earl of Leicester though some of the contents listed above may have been in the possession of the Sidney family since the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries.

VII. Rivers

| Reference | Date | Description in Source | Identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| PRO PROB 11/154/103 | viii.1628 | musicke bookes | - |

27. Croft, The Poems of Robert Sidney, 52

28. Hay, The Life of Robert Sidney, 72

VIII. Rutland

| Reference | Date | Description in Source | Identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| HMC Rutland I, 299 | v.1592 | singing books...save the duos | ? Whythorne, Duos or songs for two voyces (1590) |
| HMC Rutland IV, 414 | ii.1599 | a musick book, $x^s$ | - |
| 432 | iv.1600 | a lute booke $iii^s$ | - |
| | | a set of song bookes $iii^s$ $vi^d$ | - |
| 439 | iii.1602 | to a musicion that brought songes, $x^s$ | - |
| 532 | 1642/3 | [guitar] booke | - |

None of the books purchased by the earls of Rutland can be identified except possibly for 'the duos' which Thomas Screven was instructed to obtain for Lady Elizabeth Manners.

IX. Salisbury

| Reference | Date | Description in Source | Identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| Salisbury MSS vol.62/77 | vii.1598 | the books which I dedicated to your Honnore | Morley, The first booke of balletts to five voyces (1595); Il primo libro delle ballette a cinque voci (1595) |
| bills 14/1 | xii.1607 | three great violl bookes with gilt covers $xxviii^s$ $vi^d$ | - |
| Box library catalogues | 1614/5 | divers bookes of musick and songes | - |
| vol. 200/84 | | | Tessier, 'Que voulez-vous madame' (tenor part only) |

Despite its compilation after the 1st Earl of Salisbury's death, the 1614/5 library catalogue reflects the tastes of Robert Cecil rather than those of his son and heir. It is not known when the family obtained an autograph copy of Tessier's chanson. Salisbury may have acquired the manuscript through his

cousin, Anthony Bacon, from whom Tessier sought patronage in 1597.[29]

X. Shrewsbury

| Reference | Date | Description in Source | Identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| V&A Clements SS20 | | | Yonge, Musica Transalpina (1588), tenor part-book only |
| Lambeth PL MS 3203 f. 36 | ix.1602 | ditty [text by Sir Robert Cecil set to music by Robert Hales and sung before Elizabeth I] | |

XI. Westmorland

| Reference | Date | Description in Source | Identification |
|---|---|---|---|
| NRO W(A) mis. vol.45 (A) f.25 | n.d. | Choice Psalms put into Musick for three voices Cantus Primus, Secundus Bassus & the Organ part vol. by Wm & Henry Lawes 1684 (sic) | William and Henry Lawes, Choice Psalmes (1648) |
| | | Di Peitro Philippi...4 libri de Madrigali sei voci, sesto, alto, tenore, canto 1604 | Philips, Il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci (1604) |
| W(A) Box 4 parcel vi no. 1/M | | | Poncet, Douze pseaumes de David a 3-7 voix (1611)[30] |

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29 For a discussion of this source and Tessier's visit to England see Ungerer, 'The French Lutenist Charles Tessier and the Essex Circle', 198-99

30. According to RISM, the only other copy of this publication survives in the Bibliothèque Royal Albert 1er, Brussels ('Einzeldrucke vor 1800', VII, 8).

## APPENDIX VI

### Musical dedications

| Dedicatee[1] | Publication |
|---|---|
| 3rd Earl of Bath | Amner, Sacred hymnes of 3.4.5. and 6.parts for voyces and vyols (1615) |
| Earl and Countess of Bridgewater | Attey, The first booke of ayres of foure parts (1622) |
| Marquess of Buckingham | Vautor, The first set being songs of divers ayres and natures (1619)<br>Adson, Courtly masking ayres for violins, consorts and cornets (1621) |
| William Lord Burghley | Damon, The former booke of the musicke... conteining all the tunes of Davids psalmes and The second Booke of the Musicke (1591) |
| Alice Countess of Carbery and Mary Lady Herbert | Henry Lawes, Ayres and dialogues (1653) |
| Sir Charles Cavendish I | Wilbye, The first set of English madrigals (1598) |
| Sir Charles Cavendish II | Mersenne, Harmonicorum libri (Paris, 1636) |
| William Viscount Cranborne | Robinson, New Citharen Lessons (1609) |
| 4th Earl of Cumberland | Byrd, Psalmes, songs and sonnets (1611) |
| 4th Earl of Cumberland and Henry Lord Clifford | Campion, Two bookes of ayres (c. 1613) |
| 6th Earl of Derby | Pilkington, The first booke of songs or ayres of 4 parts (1605) |
| Sir Francis Hastings | Whythorne, Duos or songs for two voyces (1590) |
| Earl of Hertford | Le Roy, A briefe and plaine instruction to set all musicke of eight divers tunes in tablature for the lute (1574)<br>Bartlet, A book of ayres (1606) |

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1. Alice Countess of Carbery and Mary Lady Herbert were the daughters of the Earl of Bridgewater, Sir Charles Cavendish I and II were father, brother and son respectively of the Earl of Newcastle; Sir Francis Hastings was the brother of the 3rd Earl of Huntingdon; Sir Henry Pierrepont was the brother-in-law of the Earl of Devonshire; and Lady Mary Wroth was the daughter of Viscount Lisle (see Appendix II).

APPENDIX VI contd./

| Dedicatee | Publication |
|---|---|
| Theophilus Lord Howard de Walden | Campion, The discription of a maske in honour of the Lord Hayes (1607)<br>Dowland, A pilgrimes solace (1612) |
| Robert Viscount Lisle | Jones, The first booke of songes or ayres of foure parts (1600)<br>Robert Dowland, A musicall banquet (1610) |
| Charles Viscount Mansfield | Gamble, Ayres and dialogues (1659) |
| Duke of Newcastle | Simpson, A compendium of practical musick (1667 ed.) |
| Earl of Northampton | Byrd, Gradualia (1605) |
| 17th Earl of Oxford | Farmer, Divers and sundrie waies of two parts in one (1591)<br>Farmer, The first set of English madrigals (1599) |
| Mary, Countess of Pembroke | Morley, Canzonets or little short songs to three voyces (1593) |
| 3rd Earl of Pembroke | Hume, The first part of ayres (1605)<br>Tomkins, Songs of 3.4.5. and 6 parts (1622) |
| Sir Henry Pierrepont | Greaves, Songs of sundrie kinds (1604) |
| 1st Earl of Salisbury | Morley, The first booke of balletts to five voyces (1595) and Il primo libro delle ballette a cinque voci (1595)<br>Jones, The first set of madrigals (1607)<br>Dowland, Andreas Ornithoparcus his Micrologus (1609) |
| 3rd Earl of Southampton | Ferrabosco II, Lessons for 1.2 and 3 viols (1609) |
| Lady Arbella Stuart | Cavendish, 14 ayres in tabletorie to the lute (1598)<br>Wilbye, The second set of madrigales to 3.4.5. and 6 parts (1609) |
| Gilbert Lord Talbot | Yonge, Musica Transalpina (1588) |
| 4th Earl of Worcester | Byrd, Cantiones sacrae liber primus (1589) |
| Lady Mary Wroth | Jones, The muses gardin of delights (1610) |

| Patron[1] | Notes | Viol | Lyra | Violin | Lute | Cittern | Gittern | Bandora | Theorbo | Orpharion | Guitar | Harp | Virginal | Harpsichord | Organ | Flute | Recorder | Cornet | Trumpet |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5th Earl of Bath | 2 | 4 (k-l) | - | 1 (l) | 1 tr (k) | - | - | - | 1 (l) | - | - | - | 1 (l) | 1 (l) | 3 (j-l) | - | - | - | 1 (k) |
| 1st Earl of Bridgewater | 3 | - | - | - | 1 (e-f) | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 (d) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 1st Earl of Clare | 4 | - | - | - | 1 (h) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 2nd Earl of Clare | 4 | - | - | - | 3 (l) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 3rd Earl of Cumberland | 5 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 (a) | - | - | - | - | - | 1 (b) | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 4th Earl of Cumberland | 5 | several (c-l) | 1 (e) | 2 tr | several (e-k) | 1 (e) | - | - | 2 (e,g) | - | 1 (i) | - | 1 (j) | 2 (i,k) | 3 (g-l) | - | - | - | 1 (d) |
| 6th Earl of Derby | 6 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 (g) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 7th Earl of Derby | 6 | several (k) | - | - | 1 (k) | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 (k) | - | - | 1 (k) | - | - | - | - |
| Alice Countess of Derby | 7 | 4 (i) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 (i) | 1 (i) | 1 (i) | - | - | - | - |
| 1st Earl of Devonshire | 8 | several (b-f) | - | 1 tr | several (b-e) | 2 (c,e) | - | 2 (b,e) | - | - | - | - | 2 (d-e) | 1 (e) | - | 1 (e) | 1 (e) | - | 1 (c,e) |
| 3rd Earl of Devonshire | 8 | - | - | - | ? (j) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 (j) | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 1st Earl of Dorset | 9 | ? (d) | - | ? (d) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 3rd Earl of Dorset | 9 | chest (l) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 (g) | 1 (g) | - | - | - | 2 (f) |
| Earl of Hertford | 10 | ? (a) | - | - | ? (a) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 (a) | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 3rd Earl of Huntingdon | 11 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 (b) | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 5th Earl of Huntingdon | 11 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 (d) | - |
| 1st Earl of Leicester | 12 | - | - | - | ? (c) | - | - | - | - | 1 (a) | - | - | 1 (b) | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 1st Earl of Middlesex | 13 | chest (?h-l) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 (?h-l) | - | - | - | - |
| 1st Earl of Mulgrave | 14 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 (i) | - | 1 (i) | - | - | - | - |
| 2nd Earl of Pembroke | 15 | ? (a) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 4th Earl of Pembroke | 15 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 (k) | - | - | - | - |
| 5th Earl of Rutland | 16 | 2b (c) | - | - | 1 (c) | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 (b-c) | 1 (a) | - | - | - | - | - | ?? |
| 6th Earl of Rutland | 16 | - | - | - | 2 (f-g) | 1 (f) | - | - | - | 1 (f) | - | - | - | - | 1 (f-g) | - | - | - | ?? |
| 7th Earl of Rutland | 16 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 (j) | - | - | - | - |
| 8th Earl of Rutland | 16 | 1 (k) | - | - | 1 (l) | - | - | - | - | - | 1 (k-l) | 1 (l) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 1st Earl of Salisbury | 17 | several (d-e) | 1 (d) | 1b (d) | several (d-e) | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 (b,d) | 2 (c,e) | - | 3 (d-e) | - | - | - | - |
| 2nd Earl of Salisbury | 17 | 1 (e) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 (e) | 1 (e,h,k-l) | 1 (e-f, h,l) | 4 (h,l) | - | - | - | - |
| 7th Earl of Shrewsbury | 18 | chest (d) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury | 19 | chest (b) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 1st Earl of Suffolk | 20 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 (d) | - | - | - | - |
| 1st Earl of Westmorland | 21 | chest (h) | - | - | 1 (h) | - | - | 2 (h) | 1 (h) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 (h) |
| 2nd Earl of Westmorland | 21 | ? (l) | - | 1 (l) | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 (l) | - | - | 1 (l) | - | - | - | - | 2 (l) |

Key

tr = treble
b = bass

(a) = <1590-1594
(b) = 1595-1599
(c) = 1600-1604
(d) = 1605-1609
(e) = 1610-1614
(f) = 1615-1619
(g) = 1620-1624
(h) = 1625-1629
(i) = 1630-1634
(j) = 1635-1639
(k) = 1640-1644
(l) = 1645->1649

Notes to Appendix VII

1. Lady Elizabeth Kytson's musical instruments passed to her son-in-law, Thomas, Earl Rivers, in 1628 (PRO PROB 11/154/103). It has not been possible to establish the contents of this collection, though Lady Kytson did inherit several instruments from her husband in 1603 (Gage, The History and Antiquities of Hengrave, 24-25). Hengrave Hall and its possessions were inherited by Mary, Countess Rivers in 1640, but her probate inventory compiled four years later contains no musical instruments (HMC Verulam MSS, 35-51). Rivers has therefore been excluded from the table.

2. A number of instruments are listed in the account drawn up by the 3rd Earl of Bath's mentor, Sir William Spring (Lbl Harl. MS 7390). These are excluded from the appendix on the grounds that they probably belonged to Spring. KAO U269/A518/1 and 3, A520/4-5, A525/5 and 10, A526, C276

3. Ellesmere MSS EL 263, 267, 312, 320, 324-25, 331; CSP Ireland 1606-1608, p. 128

4. NUL NeC 15405 p. 27; Portland MSS PwV4 p. 192, PwV5 p. 128

5. Bolton MSS uncat. inventory dated 1595; Lambeth PL MS 807/2; Lbl Althorp papers B1/39/1 and 4, Bolton MSS G7, G10, book 94 ff. 182 and 184, book 95 ff. 116v, 186v, 240, 241, 242 and 242v, book 97 ff. 155, 156, 199v and 201, book 99 f. 223v, book 100 ff. 196-97, book 169 f. 19, book 173, book 174 f. 155v, book 179, book 231 f. 42v; YAS DD121/36/A2 f. 182. The 5th Earl of Cumberland's son-in-law, the 2nd Earl of Cork, left in Yorkshire '1 black box with a great violl in it', possibly a great double bass, when his wife was forced to relinquish the Clifford estates to her aunt, Anne, Countess of Pembroke and Montgomery (Bolton MSS G12a and G12b). According to an inventory of Skipton Castle drawn up for the said countess on 7 May 1645, Cork's bedchamber also contained '1 chest of musicall instruments' (Bolton MSS G8).

6. Pilkington, The second set of madrigals, and pastorals of 3. 4. 5 and 6 parts (1624); Worcester College Oxford MS xxxv pp. 45-47

7. Hastings MSS misc. box 1, Countess of Derby's household expenses

8. Devonshire's collection of viols may have included a chest purchased by his mother, Elizabeth, Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury, in December 1595 (Hardwick MS 7 f. 140v). The countess also possessed a virginal which stood in the long gallery at Hardwick Old Hall (Boynton, The Hardwick Hall Inventories of 1601, 44). Hardwick MSS 10A 10B, 23, 29 pp. 224, 228, 262, 267-9, 321, 361, 364, 508. The 3rd Earl of Devonshire was only eleven years of age at the time of his father's death. The Cavendish estates were therefore run by Christian, Countess of Devonshire (Hardwick MS 30A).

9. KAO U269/A1/1 and U269/F79/1; PRO PROB 11/202/41; Renshaw, 'An Early 17th Century British Organ', 34-35

10. Seymour papers vol. v f. 186, vol. xi f. 107

11. Hastings MSS accounts box 6, John Burrowes's accounts beginning 23 September 1606; inventories box 1, folder 1 (1596 inventory) and folder 13 f. 15v. A number of instruments are referred to in the stage directions for the masque performed at Ashby-de-la-Zouche in August 1607 (see Appendix VIII). These are not included in the appendix as there is no proof of Huntingdon's ownership.

12. KAO U1475/A38/1, C12/14; HMC De L'Isle and Dudley MSS, II, 437

13. KAO U269/E198/2 f. 10v, E264, E293, A402/3, F37

14. Bolton MSS book 161

15. Ibl Harl. MS 7186 f. 28v; Bolton MSS book 179

16. HMC Rutland, IV, 426, 432, 438, 507, 513, 516, 518, 532, 537, 539

17. Salisbury MSS accounts 9/5, 11/2, 160/1 ff. 11, 18 and 42, bills 4, 14, 33, 57, 58, 67 and 210, box A/3 and 23, box B/5 f. 14, box C/4, 5 and 9, box D/2, box G/2, box G/14, vol. 55/15; Ibl Landsdowne MS 91 f. 129

18. Lambeth PL MS 708 f. 196

19. Hardwick MS 7 f. 140v

20. Salisbury MSS bills 33

21. NRO W(A) Box 6 parcel v misc. nos 1-2, W(A) misc. vol. 4 ff. 133, 171 and 189, misc. vol. 7 ff. 41, 64, 69 and 92

## APPENDIX VIII

### Private Entertainments 1591-1641

| Patron | Date | Location | Title/description (reason for performance) | Poet | Composer | Designer | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Earl of Bridgewater | 29.ix.1634 | Ludlow Castle, Shropshire | Comus, a masque (appointment as lord president of the Council in the Marches) | John Milton | Henry Lawes<br>? | | 1 |
| Duke of Buckingham | ?1619-20 | | masque | | | | 2 |
| | 3,5, viii.1621 | Burley-on-the-Hill<br>Belvoir Castle | The Metamorphosed Gypsies, masque (royal visit) | Ben Jonson | Nicholas Lanier<br>Robert Johnson | | 3 |
| | 18.xi.1623 | York House, London | masque | Maynard | | | 4 |
| | 5.viii.1624 | Burley-on-the-Hill | masque (royal visit) | Maynard | | | 5 |
| 4th Earl of Cumberland | 6-8.viii.1617 | Brougham Castle, Westmorland | The Kings Entertainment (royal visit) | Thomas Campion | George Mason<br>John Earsden | | 6 |
| | i.1631/2 | | masque | | | ? Hendrik de Keyser<br>? John Vester | 7 |
| | iv.1637 | Skipton Castle, Yorkshire | masque of Comus | | | Hendrik de Keyser | 8 |
| | ?1638 | | masque | | | | 9 |
| | ii.1639/40 | | masque | | | | 10 |
| 6th Earl of Derby | 26.i.1594/5 | | masque (wedding) | John Davies | | | 11 |
| Alice, Countess of Derby | ?1631-1634 | Harefield, Middlesex | Arcades (familial gratitude) | John Milton | ? Henry Lawes | | 12 |
| Earl of Devonshire | ii.1623 | ? Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire | masque | | | | 13 |
| Christian Countess of Devonshire | xii.1636 | ? Byfleet | masque | | | | 14 |
| Earl of Hertford | 20-23. ix.1591 | Elvetham, Hampshire | The Honorable Entertainement gieven to the Queenes Majestie in Progresse (royal visit) | Thomas Watson<br>Nicholas Breton<br>George Buc | Thomas Morley<br>Edward Johnson<br>John Baldwin | | 15 |
| | ix.1603 | Tottenham Park | (royal visit) | Samuel Daniel | John Daniel | | 16 |
| 5th Earl of Huntingdon | viii.1607 | Ashby-de-la-Zouche, Leics. | The Lorde and Ladye Huntingdons Entertainment (visit of Alice Lady Derby) | John Marston | | | 17 |

APPENDIX VIII contd./

| Patron | Date | Location | Title/description (reason for performance) | Poet | Composer | Designer | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Earl of Middlesex | ? 1630 | Wiston, Sussex | masque | Sir John Suckling | | | 18 |
| Earl of Montgomery | Christmas 1617/8 | Enfield, Middlesex Theobalds | masque | | | | 19 |
| Earl of Newcastle | 1620 | Clerkenwell, London | (baptism of second son) | Ben Jonson | | | 20 |
| | 21.v.1633 | Welbeck, Notts. | The Kings Entertainment at Welbeck (royal visit) | Ben Jonson | ? William Lawes | | 21 |
| | 30.vii.1634 | Bolsover, Derbys. | Loves Wel-come, the King and Queenes entertainment (royal visit) | Ben Jonson | | | 22 |
| | n.d. | ? Welbeck | anti-masque (Christmas) | Earl of Newcastle | | | 23 |
| | 1636 | Welbeck | entertainment (royal visit) | | | | 24 |
| | 1641 or 1642 | ? Welbeck | The King's Entertainment (royal visit) | Earl of Newcastle | | | 25 |
| Earl of Salisbury | 22.xi.1600 | Savoy, London | (royal visit) | | | | 26 |
| | 6.xii.1602 | Cecil House, London | entertainment (royal visit) | John Davies<br>Walter Cope<br>Robert Cecil | | | 27 |
| | 24.vii.1606 | Theobalds, Herts. | The entertainment of the two Kings of Great Britaine and Denmarke (royal visit) | Ben Jonson | | Inigo Jones | 28 |
| | 22.v.1607 | Theobalds | An Entertainment of King James and Queen Anne 'The Genius' (royal visit to mark the exchange of Theobalds for the palace at Hatfield) | Ben Jonson | | Inigo Jones | 29 |
| | v.1608 | Salisbury House, London | shews (royal visit to mark Cecil's appointment as lord treasurer) | Ben Jonson | | Inigo Jones<br>Louis Dauphin | 30 |
| | 11.iv.1609 | Britain's Burse, London | entertainment/show (royal to mark opening of the new exchange) | Ben Jonson | | Inigo Jones | 31 |
| 7th Earl of Shrewsbury | 20.iv.1603 | Worksop, Notts. | ? entertainment (royal visit) | | | | 32 |
| | viii.1615 | Rufford, Notts. | anticke maske | | | | 33 |
| James Lord Strange | 6.i.1640/1 | Knowsley, Lancs. | masque (Christmas) | Sir Thomas Salusbury | | | 34 |
| 1st Earl of Westmorland | 1.v.1627 | Apethorpe, Northants. | (May day) | Lady Rachel Fane | | | 35 |
| Countess of Westmorland | ? i.1629/30 | Apethorpe | ? masque (Christmas) | Lady Rachel Fane | | | 36 |

APPENDIX VIII contd./

| Patron | Date | Location | Title/description (reason for performance) | Poet | Composer | Designer | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2nd Earl of Westmorland | ? 1640 | Apethorpe | Raguallo d'Oceano, masque | 2nd Earl of Westmorland | | | 37 |
| 5th Earl of Worcester | ? 1628 or 6.vii.1637 | Worcester House, London or Raglan Castle | masque (wedding) | | | | 38 |

**Notes to Appendix VIII**

1. Ibl Add. MS 53723 ff. 37-39 ; Bush, Milton: Poetical Works, 112-39; Brown, Milton's Aristocratic Entertainments

2. J. Knowles, 'Change partners and dance: A newly discovered Jacobean masque', Times Literary Supplement (9 August 1991), 19

3. Ibl Add. MS 29396 ff. 71v-72; Playford, Musical Companion;Herford and Simpson, Ben Jonson, VII, 539-622 and X, 612-13

4. McGee, 'Preliminary Checklist of Tudor and Stuart Entertainments 1614-1625', 115-16

5. McGee, ibid., 121-22

6. Mason and Earsden, The Ayres that were sung and played at Brougham Castle; Spink, 'Campion's Entertainment at Brougham Castle, 1617'; Spence, 'A Royal Progress in the North'

7. Bolton MSS book 168

8. Bolton MSS book 175 ff. 181-83 and book 176 f. 148v; Butler, 'A Provincial Masque of Comus, 1636'

9. Bolton MSS book 177 f. 189

10. Bolton MSS book 177 f. 272

11. Salisbury MSS vol. 25/6; McGee and Meagher, 'Preliminary Checklist of Tudor and Stuart Entertainments 1558-1602', 135

12. Bush, Milton: Poetical Works, 101-04; Brown, Milton's Aristocratic Entertainments

13. Hardwick MS 29 p. 739

14. Hardwick MS 30A

15. Brennecke, 'The Entertainment at Elvetham, 1591'; Boyle, 'Elizabeth's Entertainment at Elvetham'

16. Seymour papers vol. xi ff. 233-34; Nichols, The progresses...of James I, I, 250

17. Ellesmere MS EL 34.B.9

18. Suckling, Sir J., The Works: The Non-Dramatic Works, ed. T. Clayton (Oxford, 1971), 28

19. McGee, 'Preliminary Checklist of Tudor and Stuart Entertainments 1614-1625', 54

20. Ibl Harleian MS 4955 ff. 48-52v

21. Ibl Harleian MS 4955 ff. 194-98v; Ibl Add. MS 31432 ff. 20v-21

22. Ibl Harleian MS 4955 ff. 199-202

23. Portland MSS PwV26 ff. 146-50 and PwV25 f. 43

24. Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, The Life of...William Cavendish, 104

25. Portland MS PwV23

26. McClure, The Letters of John Chamberlain, I, 113

27. McClure, ibid., I, 176-77

28. The King of Denmarkes Welcome (1606); McClure, The Letters of John Chamberlain, I, 232; Harington, Nugae Antiquae, I, 348-53; Salisbury MSS vol. 119/162 and vol. 144 f. 272

29. Salisbury MSS bills 386/1, vol. 140 ff. 110-11v and vol. 144 f. 271; copy of the text among the papers of Sir Francis Fane dated c. 1607, Add. MS 34218 ff. 23v-24

30. Salisbury MSS bills 22 and 33; Orgel and Strong, Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court, I, 122-27

31. Salisbury MSS vol 195/100, accounts 160/1 f. 51, bills 35/1, 1a, 6-8

32. Nichols, The progresses...of James I, I, 86-87

33. McGee, 'Preliminary Checklist of Tudor and Stuart Entertainments 1614-1625', 30

34. Broadbent, 'A Masque at Knowsley'

35. KAO U269/F38/3 ff. 3-4v

36. KAO U269/F38/3 ff. 8v-11

37. Leech, Mildmay Fane's Raquaillo d'Oceano...

38. Bayly, T., Worcesters Apopthegmes or witty sayings of the Right Honourable Henry (late) Marquess and Earl of Worcester (1650), 40

## APPENDIX IX

### The Clifford inheritance dispute, 1605-1617

Under English law an earldom must descend to the next heir male. The 3rd Earl of Cumberland's sons Francis and Robert had died during their father's lifetime; the title therefore passed in 1605 to a collateral relative, George Clifford's forty-six-year-old brother, Francis.[1] The 3rd Earl's surviving daughter, Anne, was the principal beneficiary of the family estates, but in order to advance the house of Clifford and to pay off his colossal debts, George conveyed all of his property to his brother. In full recompense of her child's portion he bequeathed £15,000 to Anne payable over seven years, and instructed her 'not to moleste nor trouble my welbeloved brother', in the event of which she would forfeit her right to the inheritance.[2] The 3rd Earl's widow who had been estranged from her husband since 1601 was outraged by this injustice. Margaret Countess of Cumberland contested the will on two grounds. First, as heir general, Anne was entitled to the baronies of de Clifford, Westmorland and Vescy. The law accepted her right to the titles but neither the 4th Earl nor his son would concede to her any part of her claim. Secondly, Anne was legally the heiress to the original Clifford estates of Skipton and Westmorland.

The twelve-year litigation which ensued was further complicated by Anne's marriage in 1609 to Richard Sackville, 3rd Earl of Dorset. Under common law, the fortunes of a wife became her husband's property for the duration of their union.[3] Dorset, a notorious spendthrift, was prepared to barter his wife's rights. Shortly before the trial at common pleas bar he demanded a cash settlement of £20,000 and proposed that the Skipton and Westmorland estates descend to Anne after the heirs male. Judgment was passed in 1615. The Westmorland estates to which Margaret was entitled by dower following her husband's death, were awarded to the 4th Earl, though he was prevented from entering them during the countess's lifetime.[4] Anne's right to Skipton was upheld but Cumberland was allowed to retain the estate providing he paid his niece's portion. Dorset agreed but Anne refused to accept the court's decision.

The situation came to a head in May 1616 when Anne's mother died. Cumberland ordered his men to occupy all of the Westmorland castles and manors. Brougham Castle where Anne had set up house was sequestered by the justices of assize and held until final settlement was reached. Fighting broke out between Lord Clifford's men and those of the 3rd Earl of Dorset who, realising his new bargaining potential following the death of his mother-in-law, supported his wife's claim to the estates. Both noblemen went so far as to threaten settlement of the

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1. Holdsworth, The History of English Law, III, 171-72

2. J.W. Clay, 'The Clifford Family', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 18 (1905), 353-411, see esp. p. 388

3. Holdsworth, The History of English Law, III, 525-27

4. Holdsworth, ibid., III, 189

dispute by duel, but James and the Privy Council ordered them to 'forbeare one another and trye out theyre controversies by warres at Westminster Hall.'[5] Mediation from the king was sought as the only means of ending the conflict. On 14 March 1617 James made public his decision.[6] He acknowledged Anne's right to the Skipton and Westmorland estates, but he recognised the disposition in the 3rd Earl's will as an equitable and practical arrangement. Cumberland was to retain possession of his brother's property. The disputed estates were to pass to Lord Clifford and his heirs male or in default to the 4th Earl's heirs. In case of failure in the male line they would pass to Anne and her successor both male and female, and in default to Lord Clifford's daughters, and finally to those of the 4th Earl. All other property inherited or acquired by Cumberland would descend to his heirs. Anne was granted her monetary inheritance, but Dorset had to assure Cumberland manors worth £25,000 which he could lawfully enter or sell after Dorset's death if Anne recommenced legal proceedings.

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5. Spence, 'The Cliffords', 232

6. Cumbria Record Office, Lord Hothfield Appleby MSS Box/5 'King James' Award'; Clifford, The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford, 51

## APPENDIX X

'Come yee hearts that be holy' from 'A note book of prayers, ejaculations, and religious sentiments and anecdotes, copied out of a booke written by the hand of that blessed martyr James earle of Derby. March ye 31, 1686' (Worcester College, Oxford MS xxxv pp. 45-47)

Come yee hearts that bee holy, celebrate your God, the unbegotten Father, the fountain of all good, who made all things by his word, and sustaines them by the influence of his mighty love, who sits gloriously arrayed with a golden robe of light, and guirds a fiery sword upon his imperiall side for the defence of the oppressed and destruction of the rebells.
Behold God loosening the reines to a swift teame of winds is caried on high in a bright chariott of clowdes, and heaven shaken farr about with the thundring of the wheeles breakes forth into fires with often and fearfull bellowings.
Heer at the frighted bones of men do quake, their haires stand stiff upon their heads and a cold sweat trickles down their sturdy limbs, hearing the judge of their crimes and perceiving the vaste vaulte of the aire breaking into stormes, even the ocean swelling with feare from the bottom of the sandes, and the earth tremblingly to shrink back her bosom.
Come thou groaning nature, let the feare and the fainting creatures praise our God, and let all of us rejoyce with trembling. Let the sea roare Lord his praises against the shores. Let mother-earth thunder forth his praises from the deepest of her blindest cavernes. Let the rivers which circle the nations with long streames cherish the admiring brinkes with pleasant murmures of his praises.
Thou wind fill full the hollow lungs with his praise and breath it so among the forests that they too may adore it with an inclination of their lofty tops.
Let the bowing of corne fields also make pleasant waves by an emulation of their respectfull eares.
Command the rocks to put on cares that they may learne these holy layes.
Let all cattle standing on astonisht limbs hearthen to the sound of Gods praises - and with lowing and bleatings - express in their manner that they return the praises they were taught.
You skaled skowes and troopes of fishes frisk and frett in waters with a sence of his praise and let your shining finnes stand up as it were for joye, and thou you cannot sing your parts in that good consort, yet keep your measures, while the painted flocks that sweeten the shades of woods with plaintiff warblings, shall with their melodious mimings chant sacred hymnes.
You pregnant clowdes, you artillery of the great thunderer, lightening, haile, snow and flames [vapours], attending his comands, praise God with a dutyfull obedience. Let the great glory of God shine clearly through the clowdes, and breake forth in a bone fire of bright lightnings.
But you, the purest bodies, may better set forth Gods pure praises, you starry orbes, who by mutuall attrition, cause so miraculous a harmony doe you diversifie your accords with the varietie of your motions.
Let the times that silently give place to following ages, the night unto daie and day to night, rehearse and teache in perpetuall successions of the yeares the praises of the great Jehovah.

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